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Further Reportage on Warsaw Pact PCC Session

Jaruzelski Hosts Dinner 15 Jul

LD1507211588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1756 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw 15 Jul ADN—The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski, gave a dinner this evening for the delegations taking part in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states. Present were the delegation heads Todor Zhivkov, Karoly Grosz, Erich Honecker, Nicolae Ceausescu, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Milos Jakes, and members of the delegations. For the Polish delegation, further members of the party and state leadership were present.

At the dinner in the Council of Ministers building Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed a toast, as did the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, on behalf of the delegations. The dinner took place in an atmosphere of friendship and solidarity.

Jakes Comments Before Leaving Warsaw

LD1607164888 Prague CTK in English 1426 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 (CTK correspondent)—Further directions were set and new initiatives adopted for eliminating the basic causes of tension and reducing armament, especially nuclear weapons, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes said here today.

In an interview for Czechoslovak journalists before his departure home after a two-day session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee here, Milos Jakes stressed the need for the realization of all initiatives presented by the socialist countries individually. The session also highlighted the question of the environment and adopted a special document which is aimed at reducing, through disarmament, the danger of an ecological catastrophe, for instance, in a nuclear war, and at settling other ecological problems, he said.

Referring to the document on the consequences of the arms race for the environment, he said that the environment knows no limits and this is why the cooperation of all countries irrespective of their political systems is so urgent. The document was initiated by Czechoslovakia which prepared it with the active participation of all other countries, Milos Jakes said.

Recalling the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna which is to open the path towards concrete negotiations on reducing troops and armament in Europe, Milos Jakes said that it is therefore necessary to create new conditions for eliminating the existing danger. He stressed that "we aim not only at a step-by-step reduction of armament, which will be a long-term process, but also at solving other questions, for instance, humanitarian ones that are also subject of the Vienna talks. We are extremely interested in these talks finishing as quickly as possible and in a successful and effective reduction of forces and armament in Europe," he said.

Szuros Meets Czyrek

LD1607201788 Budapest MTI in English 1936 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP CC, and Jozef Czyrek, member of the PUWP CC PC and CC secretary, held informal talks on some particularly topical international affairs, interparty relations, and other issues of mutual interest.

The talks were attended by Imre Szokai, deputy head of department at the HSWP CC, and Jozsef Csikos, head of sub-department at the HSWP CC.

Grosz Views Meeting

LD1707210788 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 17 (MTI)—As reported Saturday evening, Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave an interview to Hungarian journalists after the session of the Political Consultative Committee [PCC] of the Warsaw Treaty. See below details of the interview.

Karoly Grosz said that the session of the Political Consultative Committee was marked by particularly rich exchanges of views, with the parties discussing everything which concerned the world and the general public.

—The dialogue was particularly constructive, all party sought for the methods of making headway in the solution of global issues including the acceleration of arms reduction, environmental protection and naturally the issue of human rights.

—The Hungarian delegation paid distinguished attention to the issue of human rights and expounded the standpoint that the individual and collective rights of the national minorities formed an integral part of human rights and the minority issues should be approached and settled in the spirit of Leninian principles. We think we can rightly demand from our partners to make the same approach to settling the problems of the national minorities living in their countries as we do with regard to the nationalities living in our country. We expounded our relevant position emphatically. These issues, which are contemporary and real problems stemming from the past but calling for solution today, were approached by all participants constructively. Our proposal for setting up a work team to elaborate the ways and means of handling humanitarian issues during the foreign ministerial meeting next autumn was met with approval. This group has the task to work out how to interpret, and represent the human rights under the conditions of socialist society and how to handle them politically.

The Hungarian contribution to the session of the Political Consultative Committee laid great emphasis on respect for the national minorities' individual and collective rights which form an integral part of human rights. We demanded that the national minorities should be allowed to preserve their mother tongue and culture, and foster relations with their mother country without any disturbance. We hold it natural that the settlement of the problems of national minorities by asserting humanism and guaranteeing democracy is first of all the responsibility of the country where the minorities are living. We invariably strive for strengthening understanding and confidence with all central European peoples. These are indispensable for the national minorities to promote cooperation and friendship between the neighbouring countries.

Before leaving for Warsaw we thought it over whether we had done everything to guarantee the rights of the national minorities. We concluded that although there are no political obstacles in this field, there are, unfortunately, financial limits. The schools of the national minorities are neglected and we take inadequate care for their cultural centres. Therefore the government decided to transfer the state guidance and supervision of the nationalities' federation to the competence of the state minister. We wished to express with this step that the government took direct care for the cultural, public and political activities of the minorities' federations, and explores the finances required for making headway in this field.

Karoly Grosz also spoke about his meetings during the session. He said: I met Comrade Ceausescu and introduced myself because we had not met before. He congratulated me for my election to general secretary's post and I said that I hope we would work together successfully in solving the issues that are laying a burden on the relations of the two countries today.

I met other general secretaries as well. Comrade Honecker reconfirmed his previous invitation so I will visit the GDR in the near future. Comrade Jakes also reconfirmed a previous invitation, and Comrade Zhivkov invited me now for a visit to Bulgaria.

Discussing the military issues raised during the session Karoly Grosz said that great emphasis had been laid on eliminating asymmetries in the field of conventional weaponry and forces. This is more than a military policy issue. Concerning the armoured troops, the Warsaw Treaty has an advantage over the NATO while the latter has superiority in air forces. To decide how they counterbalance one another is a military issue. The political decision has been made: the forces in excess should be reduced to the lower level.

Answering a question by an MTI correspondent about the role Hungary is playing in the European disarmament process, Karoly Grosz said: The situation of our country cannot be separated from the general situation. Mikhail Gorbachev repeated in the session his proposal for stopping the deployment in Italy of U.S. F-16 fighter bombers. If the U.S. side accepts the proposal, it will affect the region where Hungary lies as well. We have to coordinate what steps should be made by the different countries. The defence committee was commissioned to study this issue. The defence and foreign ministerial committees have to hold separate consultations as the issue is very complex and complicated.

It is in our interest to establish balance on low level. We initiated to accelerate talks on these issues. Our defence minister and ministry maintain contacts with the ministries of defence in the West European countries. In a move to reduce mistrust, we invited observers to our military exercises. Provided that the practice and system of verification have been established, we are prepared to open all fields for the verifiers, Karoly Grosz said.

Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, who was member of the Hungarian delegation to the Warsaw Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, held talks with Florian Siwicki, Polish minister of defence, in Warsaw, in the future. The latter, however, have a political content as well.

Further Reportage on 44th CEMA Session

Executive, Planning Committees Convene

AU1407154188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Jul 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Accelerating the Restructuring of Forms and Methods of Work"]

[Excerpt] Prague—[Passage omitted] CEMA Executive Committee Convened [subhead]

The CEMA Executive Committee convened yesterday [7 July] in Prague for its 128th session. It was attended by representatives of CEMA countries in the Executive Committee and by the SFRY's permanent CEMA representative. The session was opened by Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR's representative in the Executive Committee. In accordance with customary practices, he handed over the chair in the CEMA Executive Committee to Andrey Lukanov, CEMA representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The Executive Committee discussed matters of organizing the implementation of resolutions adopted by the 44th CEMA Meeting. The CEMA Executive Committee session was held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation.

The 42d session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Planning was held yesterday [7 July] in Prague; it was attended by representatives of CEMA countries in the committee and by the leading staff of central planning agencies of CEMA countries. An SFRY representative also attended the deliberations in order to obtain information.

The session was chaired by Stoyan Ovcharov, Bulgarian representative in the CEMA Planning Committee. The committee discussed issues, and approved resolutions, on providing for the implementation of conclusions adopted at the 44th CEMA Meeting and the 128th session of the CEMA Executive Committee on problems under the jurisdiction of the Planning Committee; hereby it placed the main emphasis on the implementation of the Collective Concept of International Socialist Division of Labor in the Years 1991-2005 and of special comprehensive programs of multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA member countries and the SRV, the Republic of Cuba, and the People's Republic of Mongolia, and stressed the coordination of national economy plans for the years 1991-1995. [passage omitted]

Schuerer at Planning Committee Meeting

AU1107111788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] Prague (ADN)—On 7 July 1988 the 42nd meeting of the CEMA Planning Committee was held in Prague. The chairmen of the central planning organs of the CEMA countries participated in it. The GDR was represented by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission. The deliberations focused on measures to implement the stipulations of the 44th CEMA meeting.

Kleiber at Executive Committee Session

AU1107111888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] Prague (ADN)—On 7 July 88 the 128th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held in Prague. Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and permanent GDR representative in the CEMA, participated on the part of the GDR. According to the established order, CSSR representative R. Rohlicek assigned the function of chairman to A. Lukanov, representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The Executive Committee dealt with the questions related to the organization of the work to implement the decisions of the 44th CEMA meeting.

Zemljaric Speaks at Session

LD0607041288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—FEC Vice President Janez Zemljaric announced a possibility of more successful development of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and CEMA and its members. This prediction is based on the assessment of present reforms of cooperation within CEMA and the results of longstanding contractual relations between Yugoslavia and this organization, as well as the genuine optimism with which Yugoslavia is embarking upon deep socioeconomic changes.

All this creates fresh, and from the economic point of view more favorable, foundations and conditions for the stable and dynamic development of our mutual cooperation, stated Zemljaric at the CEMA session that opened in Prague today. Orientation toward applying economic and market categories in the CEMA countries is also of great importance, because this encourages more successful and rational business among economic organizations, he said.

This is also a way toward more efficient balance of commodities exchange which is largely unbalanced today, causing the stagnation.

The development and promotion of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and CEMA and its members, said Zemljaric, increasingly reaffirms itself as a serious component of our overall, all-embracing and good mutual relations. In the past 2 years, Yugoslavia's exchange with CEMA countries dropped from 40 to 30 percent of the value of Yugoslavia's economic cooperation with the world, which Zemljaric said was for objective reasons. He points out a mild increase in the first half of this year.

Yugoslav organizations have so far signed over 150 agreements and contracts on multilateral specialization in production, industrial cooepration and secientific-technical cooperation with CEMA countries. In the machine-building industry alone about 80 such contracts have been signed in the last 10 years.

The report and documents prepared for the session, Zemljaric said, refer to significant efforts made by the CEMA countries aimed at advancing their cooperation. Of course, he added, its advancement and increased efficiency as well as its rationalization in the work of CEMA organs will provide scope for the further development and improved quality of this form of international cooperation.

Zemlajric stressed the importance of the current reforms and other development processes in Yugoslavia and expressed his firm belief that they would lead to stabilization and new prosperity. In this way, realistic prospects will be created for even more comprehensive cooperation with the CEMA countries.

Zemljaric went on to say that "in our country, we appreciate and follow with great interest considerable efforts, the changes in the economic systems and other reforms in the CEMA member- countries. These also include the changes designed to improve cooepration within CEMA. Yugoslavia has shown an increased interest in further developing mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of familiar principles. Yugoslavia will continue to consolidate its cooperation with other integrational groupings in both Europe and the world on an equal footing.

We welcome the signing of the declaration on CEMA-EEC cooperation as a contribution to the efforts to create a favourable climate for wider economic cooperation in Europe."

Earlier successful cooperation between Yugoslavia and CEMA and the openness and readiness on the part of the member-countries provide realistic scope for its advancement and expansion. In light of the proposed conclusions prepared for this session, we believe that they will provide stimulus for even more comprehensive development and more efficient cooperation between our country and the CEMA.

Messner Addresses Delegates

AU1107183188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Jul 88 p 2

[Speech by Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, at the 44th CEMA Session held in Prague from 5-7 July]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Chairman!

Esteemed Comrades!

In line with the decisions adopted by the heads of our states in November 1986, 7 months ago we passed resolutions that have contributed to the enhancement of socialist integration and the strengthening of economic and scientific and technical cooperation.

The CEMA organs have achieved progress along this path. The merging of certain commissions will mark the end of this current, preliminary stage in the reorganization of CEMA structures. We note with satisfaction that the proposals that have been made take account of our suggestion that a standing committee for environmental protection be established.

The CEMA Planning Committee has formulated a comprehensive concept for the international socialist division of labor until the year 2000 and a program for the coordination of national economic plans. Proposals have also been prepared concerning the provision of essential assistance to Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam, proposals that take account of the principal needs of these countries as well as what can be realistically expected of the states providing assistance.

However, we believe that insufficient progress is being made in work on the economic mechanisms of integration. Without them, the development of our states' economies will continue to encounter significant obstacles that impose important restrictions on the benefits of multilateral and bilateral cooperation.

We already voiced this belief at the last meeting of the session. It stems from the direction of the economic reform that we have been introducing in Poland since the beginning of the 1980's.

The essence of the reform is the creation of an economy that is open to cooperation with foreign countries, makes extensive use of money-market mechanisms, and is based on enterprises being self-reliant. We have limited and we are continuing to limit the role of administrative instruments in economic processes. We are transforming the administrative center so that its principal function consists in the planning of the strategic directions of socioeconomic development and the creation of appropriate legal, economic, and organizational conditions for all economic units.

We note with satisfaction that there is a very far-reaching similarity between the direction of our actions and the changes that are taking place in other socialist states. This was affirmed by, among other things, the course of the 19th All-Union Conference of Soviet Communists.

However, it is necessary to reorganize the mechanisms of our cooperation for these reforms to produce the fullest range of possible results. But opinions continue to differ on these issues.

The inefficient nature of current financial mechanisms, different legal and institutional solutions, as well as obstacles stemming from attitudes—old habits, a fear of risks, inertia, and routine—hamper the expansion of cooperation and must be replaced by new solutions, a modern way of thinking, and bold action.

The fundamental principle should be enterprise independence in selecting areas of cooperation on the basis of criteria of economic efficiency. However, it is impossible to assess the profitability of individual joint ventures without realistic prices and exchange rates and without an efficient settlements mechanism.

It is absolutely necessary to urgently start work on joint, intensive work that would facilitate the creation of an integrated socialist market with the free flow of goods, services, and factors of production, a flow that would ensure that they are used as effectively as possible in the interests of every partner and the whole community.

We are firmly and unequivocally in favor of the creation of a market of this kind by the year 2000 at the latest. This should be the main goal of our joint activities.

This is all the more important in view of the fact that the world is rapidly moving forward. The economic integration of Western Europe is a very indicative example. By 1992, the EEC might already be a completely integrated economic organism.

We cannot fail to take note of this. Indeed, we must draw conclusions from this for our actions.

We consider that basic requirements for the establishment of an integrated socialist market include:

—first, greater similarities and more standardization in the systems according to which our economies operate;

—second, making mutual settlements more multilateral in character, because rigid bilateralism is and will remain a check on integration;

—third, the formulation of joint exchange rate policies that would lead to the mutual convertibility of our currencies;

—fourth, the introduction of uniform price-setting principles for goods and services in mutual trade that are based on world prices or prices that approximate them;

—fifth, enabling economic units and institutions of learning within the entire community to engage in free activity.

Without the effective resolution of these problems, no progress will be made in integrating our community.

The system of ties cannot be limited to governmental and ministerial levels. On the contrary, institutional solutions should place an emphasis on direct cooperation between enterprises and scientific research units and on the creation of joint enterprises by interested states.

We are already employing these forms in bilateral cooperation. More than 200 production enterprises, 190 trade organizations, and 100 research and development organizations in Poland have established direct cooperation with Soviet partners. Three joint enterprises have also been established. Work is in progress on the setting up of further enterprises of this kind and—this is something I would like to stress—in many cases such work was started on the initiative of economic units themselves.

We and our Soviet comrades have agreed on many solutions that are designed to activate forms of this kind. They include, for example, the use of national currencies in settlements and a common approach to determining the prices of goods produced through direct cooperation between enterprises and organizations and goods produced by joint enterprises.

We are finalizing agreements on taxation principles, definitions of profitability, and assessing the value of fixed assets and natural resources as well as sales of the output of joint enterprises.

We attach great importance to the establishment of a joint Polish-Soviet financial institution to support the development of new forms of cooperation.

As for our Czechoslovak comrades, we are negotiating a draft intergovernmental agreement on principles governing settlements and accounting in national currencies.

Polish-Hungarian and Polish-Bulgarian talks are also being conducted on similar matters.

We are also closely following the solutions employed by other community states in bilateral cooperation.

We expect CEMA organs to speed up work on making such solutions multilateral. This is one of the main conditions for modern economic and production ties within the framework of socialist integration.

Esteemed comrades, our session is taking place at a time when positive changes in East-West relations of benefit to world peace are being deepened. The Soviet-American meeting in Moscow was an eloquent symbol of this.

The basic condition for and prime mover behind such phenomena in the international arena are peace initiatives—both individual and collective—launched by the members of the socialist community, by the Soviet Union in particular, and by Mikhail Gorbachev personally. We will shortly have the honor of playing host to Mikhail Gorbachev in our country.

The leadership of the PZPR, the PPR authorities, and the entire Polish nation received the outcome of the Moscow summit with satisfaction and hope. We believe that dialogue between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States is of fundamental importance for the strengthening of lasting, universal, and equal security for all peoples, including the Polish people.

The announcement of a 50-percent reduction in the nuclear weapons of both powers and a new package of Soviet peace proposals makes it possible to nurture the hope that this process will be continued in the interests of and for the good of all mankind.

Poland also plays a significant role in this process. We have, among other things, launched an initiative aimed at reducing weapons and increasing confidence in central Europe.

Recently, an expanded form of the Jaruzelski Plan was submitted at the Third Special UN Session devoted to disarmament by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The Jaruzelski Plan has won resolute support from the socialist states, for which we are sincerely grateful. It has also elicited great interest in Europe and beyond Europe's borders as well.

We believe that, alongside the improvement in the political atmosphere in East-West relations, positive processes will also occur in the sphere of economic relations.

This is very important for us. This is because the results produced by the normalization of our economic relations with Western Europe and the United States are still unsatisfactory. Actual credit and financial discrimination continues to be practiced with regard to our state.

The improvement of the climate in international relations has contributed to the successful outcome of the 15 years of negotiations on establishing official relations between our organization and the EEC.

We hope that the declaration that has been signed will pave the way to cooperation in many areas, such as the development of technology, environmental protection, transportation, power engineering.

We are keenly interested in strengthening equal cooperation and the constant expansion of mutually advantageous collaboration with countries that are developing economically.

Esteemed comrades, I would like to end by expressing sincere thanks to our Czechoslovak hosts for their hospitality and for creating excellent conditions for holding this session and for this stay in "golden" Prague.

Cuba's Rodriguez Speaks

AU1207185088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 pp 2,3

["From" speech by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers, delivered on the opening day of the 44th CEMA session in Prague on 5 July]

[Text] One can say that there have been only a few stages in CEMA's history that have been more successful than the period which we are contemplating today via the Executive Committee's report.

All CEMA mechanisms and bodies have done a particularly good job in the period which has elapsed since the 43d session. The Executive Committee has worked out and submits to us an analysis of a "collective concept of an international socialist division of labor for the 1991-2005 period." It also submits to us "proposals for dividing into stages the restructuring of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and the integration of socialist economy."

In the discussion of the two documents initiatives and proposals have cropped up which indicate a fundamental change in CEMA's activity.

One of them, for example, is the plan to go over to a united market in the sphere of trade among interested CEMA member states. Cuba will study this proposal with interest, and investigate the potential and obstacles which its realization would bring.

No less important are the proposals dealing with perfecting the system of price setting in reciprocal trade. When proceeding from the decisions of the economic summit of the CEMA member countries in 1984 and the agreements of the 43d (extraordinary) session, we must not forget that on capitalist markets, on the basis of which we calculate the prices for the CEMA markets, the prices of machinery, plants, and industrial products reflect—with variations which we can correct—the degree of achieved and achievable international productivity. Nevertheless, the prices of basic commodities (raw materials, agricultural products, and minerals) are mostly the consequence of the persisting colonial and neocolonial conditions in the countries which produce them, and therefore—when compared with the prices of industrial products—have a level which is not acceptable to their producers. This fundamental discrepancy between these and those, that is, this so-called "unequal mutual exchange," was the reason why the developing countries, with the help of the socialist countries, in 1974 submitted for approval by the United Nations Organization a program for a new international economic order.

The Republic of Cuba is also taking part in the study of the feasibility of using national currencies in trade among our countries, as well as in studies in order to achieve, within a few stages, the transferable ruble's convertibility into freely convertible currencies. On these studies will depend whether we join these measures immediately or only later.

Despite the fact that it is too early to be able to arrive at definite conclusions, there is no doubt that the reduction of the number of permanent bodies from 107 to 34, the establishment of new committees, and the merging of activities will result in greater flexibility in the CEMA mechanism's work, which could be even more activated and improved, because—as the report indicates—we still have not implemented by far all the principles which run our organization, and have not as yet made use of the results it offers us.

True, the economic and political relations which we maintain with the socialist countries and which account for more than 85 percent of our international economic relations, provide us with a solid base and constitute a guarantee for building socialism. However, it is also true that, despite the fact that we have only limited relations with the nonsocialist countries, these concern the basic elements of our economy, such as raw materials, spare parts, foodstuffs, medicines, and raw materials for the production of medical supplies, without which the country cannot develop and the standard of living would deteriorate. We must export more to the socialist countries in order to balance our foreign trade, and we must systematically boost the modest exports of new products to the capitalist countries, in order to eradicate the deficit. Such is our situation. Our national economy will be stronger this year.

In analyzing CEMA's relations with the nonsocialist economies, after stressing the importance of our relations with the EEC and other international centers of capitalism, the report of the Executive Committee very clearly and self-critically mentions our relations with the developing countries.

Although the assistance of the member countries to the developing countries is considerable, and they received significant credits, it is the negative aspects in the aforementioned report which strike one most. And, as far as those developing countries which have chosen the socialist path are concerned, we cannot be satisfied in the multilateral sphere. Where some bilateral results exist, multilateral affairs are deadlocked, they are being implemented too slowly, and sometimes they give the impression that we are not interested in multilateral work. We all know that the majority of developing countries, including some with a socialist orientation, are in an untenable financial situation which they cannot solve in a normal way, and they need adequate funding with repayments corresponding to their possibilities. Thus, it is necessary to study new forms of assistance. This is a problem which we must study as soon as possible.

The report addresses the cooperation of the CEMA member countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia last year. As can be seen from the analysis of the concept of the international socialist division of labor, we can note with satisfaction that this cooperation has been programmed for 15-20 years through the year 2005, and is expressed in specific programs. But, also here, bilateral actions prevail over important multilateral actions. As the analysis states, in the 1986-87 period Cuba concluded 120 agreements and treaties on cooperation with the member countries, of which 45 were in the sphere of engineering. One has to underscore the new stimuli for cooperation in the electronics industry on part of our most important partner—the Soviet Union, but also on part of the GDR, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. Talks with Poland and Hungary are under way. Cooperation is developing in the sphere of power engineering, generation of electricity, including the sphere of nuclear power plants. Work in agriculture and hydraulics is improving, and there have been positive results with respect to the geological survey of the country.

Cuba is certain that the work which is being carried out by CEMA, for which the 44th session is a crucial stage, will contribute to socialism—strengthened and rejuvenated through the common effort—offering even brighter and broader prospects for mankind.

Vietnam's Vo Van Kiet Speaks

AU1207140688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 p 2

[Report on speech by Vo Van Kiet, vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, delivered on the opening day of the 44th CEMA session in Prague on 5 July]

[Text] In the opening part of his speech, Vo Van Kiet expressed his delegation's agreement with the report of the CEMA Executive Committee on CEMA's activity.

He said further that the fact that the adoption of the special comprehensive program for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and Vietnam, which, in terms of time, tallies with the 10th anniversary of the SRV's joining CEMA, is of great importance for the people of Vietnam.

This cements and strengthens Vietnam's comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist community. On this occasion, we express the Vietnamese people's sincere and profound gratitude to the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries for the immense and priceless assistance which they have accorded to our people.

The road to socialism, which begins at the very low, initial level of a developing economy, for which overwhelmingly small-scale production is typical and which suffered a 30-year, hard, and destructive war, is a new and difficult thing.

We realize very well that—together with the maximal mobilization of the country's total potential—we must keep on comprehensively strengthening our involvement in the international socialist division of labor and the all-round and effective cooperation with the fraternal countries and, at the same time, expanding mutually advantageous cooperation with the neighboring countries in the region, and with other countries.

By adapting and realizing the special comprehensive programs for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and the SRV, Cuba, and the Mongolian People's Republic, our economic community will contribute to achieving one of its main objectives—the acceleration of the process of gradually equalizing the levels of economic development of the CEMA member countries, above all the levels of the economic development of the SRV, Cuba, and the Mongolian People's Republic. This is a noble and striking example of the international socialist division of labor, which strongly inspires the developing countries in choosing the paths of their own development, and in the struggle for a new international economic order. On the other hand, we also realize our responsibility to do all we can for effective cooperation with the fraternal countries, in accordance with the adopted program.

Currently there have been positive changes in international relations, which are positively influencing the world political atmosphere and strengthening trust among nations. The SRV and the People's Republic of Kampuchea recently submitted important proposals oriented toward a political solution of the Cambodian issue, proposals corresponding to the situation which prevails in Cambodia itself, as well as in the region. This is an active contribution to peace, stabilization, and long-term cooperation in Southeast Asia—an important region of the world. We welcome the establishment of the official relations between CEMA and the EEC, but also the orientation toward expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation with other countries on an equal and mutually advantageous basis, Vo Van Kiet said.

Dascalescu Addresses Group

AU0707195988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1904 GMT 7 Jul 88

["Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu's Speech at CMEA Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/07/1988—As we have already reported, addressing the CMEA session in Prague, the Romanian chief delegate, Premier Constantin Dascalescu, presented the principles of the RCP and Romanian state foreign policy, President Nicolae Ceausescu's conception and considerations on the settlement of major issues confronting mankind today.

The CMEA session is held at a time of socialist construction when member countries are firmly committed to intensively developing their national economy, the Romanian premier said, who further showed that the Romanian people, under the RCP leadership, were carrying on a vast activity for the implementation of the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the party, for the attainment of the strategic target of the current five-year period, namely to pass from the stage of a developing socialist country to a new, higher one—that of a medium developed socialist country until the year 1990, so that until the year 2000 Romania should become a country with powerful industry and agriculture comparable with the developed countries.

After presenting the successes scored by the Romanian people in the first two and a half years of the current five-year period in all the domains of the socioeconomic life, the speaker said:

In the RCP's outlook the international economic collaboration is a objective necessity for the implementation of the country's development programmes, for the fine unfolding of the socioeconomic activity, for a policy of collaboration, friendship and peace with all the nations of the world. Underscoring the important role of Romania's active participation in the CMEA activity, C. Dascalescu showed that the Romanian side took action and is determined to further act in full accord with this stand of principle of the RCP and the Romanian state. Appreciating the activity carried on by the council's organs between the 42nd and the 44th CMEA sessions, the speaker further dwelt on some questions related to the improvement of the mutual collaboration.

Referring to the content of the CMEA organs' activity, the speaker noticed at the tendency also manifested to orient ever more the CMEA organs' activity toward general or methodological problems of collaboration as well as toward the analysis of a large number of issues referring to the relations with other countries and international organization that, in keeping with the working plans for 1988-1989, the relevant CMEA bodies set a limited number of concrete actions and targets for the expansion of cooperation in material production, the speaker showed that such a narrowing of the CMEA organs' activity was not for the benefit of implementation of the goals that had underlain the CMEA foundation. In accordance with what was covenanted at the last session, he said, it is necessary that in the present stage the Council should concentrate its efforts on the elaboration of actions aiming at the deepening of multilateral collaboration, of specialization and cooperation in particular, and with this as a basis at the broadening of mutual trade and the better meeting of the requirements for fuels, energy, and raw materials, modern equipment and technologies, industrial consumer goods and foodstuffs. As the draft resolution stipulates, the speaker emphasized, in the following period the CMEA organs should identify new cooperative actions in the domain, and finalize as soon as possible the negotiations to concretize them in appropriate conventions and accords.

Assessing afterwards that the first results of the proceedings held so far on the improvement of the mechanism of collaboration in the coordination of plans, the currency-financial and credit relationships, the formation of prices in mutual trade, the legal-normative bases of collaboration proved the complexity of like problems, the Romanian premier said that no rash measure should be taken which might disconsider the necessary stages and the real conditions in the member countries, the generally valid laws of planned management of the socialist economy. That is why, as regards the improvement of the collaboration mechanism, the CMEA bodies should continue the works envisaged for the 1988-1990 interval and, on the basis of the results obtained and the report to be read in 1990 by the Executive Committee on this matter, measures should be agreed upon for the further betterment of the mechanism of mutual collaboration.

As covenanted at the previous session, Romania considers that the provisions of the CMEA statute hold true, and declares for a better activity of the council in keeping with the fundamental principles and statutory norms of collaboration among the CMEA countries, maintaining and further developing the forms and methods of collaboration which proved their utility.

In the context the speaker pointed out that Romania had not agreed and did not view the setting up of a joint market of the CMEA countries as topical.

We must concentrate on the improvement of production specialization and cooperation in production, the intensification of mutual collaboration in a better use of the production units and investments extant in the member countries, in a higher technological level and quality of production. In reference to the expansion of direct links between enterprises, central departments and research institutes, the Romanian side backs such a form of collaboration and has in view that it should develop in accordance with the internal regulations in each country. Such relations should run according to the specific demands of production specialization and cooperation in production, as they cannot be an activity in itself, apart from the practical problems of collaboration and goods exchanges.

As regards a more simple structure of our organization, the Romanian delegation agrees to the provisions in the draft resolution regarding the fusion of the CMEA standing commissions for the oil and gas industry, the coal industry and geology, and holds the view that the new body be set up at a CMEA committee level, as it was done in other domains, too, and also agrees to the unification of the commissions for the iron-and-steel industry and non-ferrous metallurgy.

Referring to the measures adopted in between the sessions for a more simple system of international economic organizations created on the multilateral basis by the CMEA countries with a view to eliminating parallellism between them and the CMEA bodies' activity, the Romanian chief delegate underscored the tendency of some ministries and central organs in the member countries to replace the dissolved CMEA bodies by new organizational forms, outside the council, which should practically examine the same problems which made the object of the former bodies' activity. To avoid the refoundation of such bodies outside CMEA as well as activities parallel with those of the council's organs which took over the respective domains, we think opportune to take firm action for the implementation of the joint resolutions.

Next, the Romanian chief delegate referred to the RCP and Romanian state's position on the growth of technical and scientific collaboration, the improvement of the international division of labour among the CMEA countries, of production specialization and cooperation in production as well as on the works of the coordination of plans for 1991-1995—items included in the current session's agenda. He showed that the experience of socialist construction in Romania, and the tendencies on a world plane evinced the justness of the aggregate of measures taken by the RCP in the last two decades to stimulate the national scientific creation. The firm promotion of such an orientation has brought about a steadily growing role of science in the country's socialist construction. In the last 20 years the number of the working personnel in the research-development sphere rose fivefold, its fixed assets 11 times and its current expenses more than 14 times.

Referring to several achievements, the speaker showed that Romania took an intense part in the activity of collaboration carried out so far on the approximately 800 research-development works under the complex programme in which it showed interest, signing more than 240 documents—conventions, accords and protocols as well as 140 economic accords and contracts aiming at manufacturing new products, prototypes and technologies, and others meant to be assimilated into production.

After analysing several specific aspects of growing efficiency of collaboration in implementing the complex programme for the scientific and technical progress of the CMEA countries till the year 2000, the speaker underscored the need that the CMEA countries and organs should take more energetic action to dynamize the carrying through of the complex programme, the priority projects for an ever faster achievement of the results envisaged and, with this as a basis, pass on to organizing cooperation and specialization, to mutual deliveries so that some of the results scored under this programme can be used in the member countries' economies this five-year period. The Romanian side expresses its belief that, through a more systematic and sustained cooperation between the CMEA countries' cooperation bodies and organizations, the goals of the complex programmes can be fulfilled appropriately.

In the broad context of the problems posed by the implementation of the complex programme the speaker referred more particularly to the attainment of priority targets—the electronization of the national economy, calling attention to some aspects which should be urgently solved, and assessing that the member countries, the CMEA bodies, the international economic organizations of the council's member countries were in duty bound to take sustained action to step up cooperation in attaining the goals set and carrying out the cooperation and specialization agreements concluded, and to meet the member countries' requirements for electronic technology to a greater extent.

Underscoring the special importance Romania continued to attach to the coordination of plans as a main method of economic organization and collaboration and of deepening the division of labour among the CMEA countries, the speaker assessed in the positive the work done so far and agreed to the adoption of the programme for the coordination of the CMEA countries' economic plans for 1991-1995, and to the list of questions related to economic collaboration which are coordinated on a multilateral basis. He noticed that the list of economic collaboration programmes includes a considerable number of actions, of which almost 120 were of concern to the Romanian side considering that the programme for the coordination of plans and the list of economic collaboration affairs are completed according to the far-reaching programmes for the CMEA countries' development of production specialization and manysided cooperation in production till the year 2000 in machine building, the radiotechnical industry, electronics, and the chemical industry. Now, he said, according to the session's resolution, the CMEA countries should take into account the provisions of these plan coordination programmes over 1991-1995.

The scope of Romania's participation in the three programmes reflects in its being a party to the manufacture of 210 products or groups of products.

Declaring for a passage to an immediate analysis of questions related to the timely elaboration of collaboration documents so that the pledges taken should be considered in the working out of the national economic plans for 1991-1995, the Romanian chief delegate agreed to the provision in the draft resolution which traces the task that, by the end of this year, the countries or organizations in charge of the coordination of works be established for all the collaboration themes and the terms be fixed for the finalization of the draft conventions or other collaboration documents. He considered that work should continue within the CMEA bodies to elucidate the questions referring to the expansion of production specialization and the completion of programmes as they should be taken into account when plans are coordinated and specialization conventions are concluded for 1991-1995. The speaker said that firm action should be taken to avoid any delay in coordinating the plans for the next five-year period and even undertake measure to do it before holding negotiations.

In connection with the works of coordinating the plans for the next five-year period, Constantin Dascalescu also evinced some aspects to which Romania attaches special importance: First, as established at a previous session, the negotiations on the coordination of plans are to be held in future as well under the direct control of the central planning bodies since they are responsible for the organization of the elaboration of plans and are the only ones apt, under the direct guidance and coordination of the party and state leadership in each country, to take clearcut pledges as early as the working out of the draft national plan. Certainly, other central bodies as well as central industrial departments or large economic units will be involved in the works of coordinating the plans. Second, we think as very important that, while coordinating the plans, the list and volume of mutual deliveries be covenanted as regards all commodities of mutual concern. Third, it is opportune, that in a first stage of coordinating the plans, special attention be paid to the fact that those deliveries are covenanted which are included in the accords and conventions on the development of production specialization and cooperation in production as well as in the long-term programmes and understandings referring to collaboration in the spheres of raw materials, fuel and other products showing a deficit.

Among the major problems which require a solution are the satisfaction of the CMEA countries' requirements for fuel, energy and raw materials and the boosting of collaboration for a better supply with foodstuffs.

Next, the speaker referred to some questions relating to the elaboration of a collective outlook on the socialist international division of labour over 1991-2005 stressing that, in accordance with the principal aims stipulated by this outlook, the RCP and Romanian state take the view that the expansion of mutual collaboration and the international division of labour among the CMEA countries should lead to a stable and balanced growth of the national economies, the better meeting of the requirements for energy, fuel, materials and other products showing a deficit, the improvement of production specialization and cooperation in production and the full use of the productive and technical-scientific potential in each country. It is precisely for the attainment of such goals that Romania assesses that an undelayed passage should be made to preparing the programmes, conventions and actions with regard to production specialization and cooperation in production.

In conclusion, the speaker expressed the Romanian delegation's accord with the session's draft resolution presented by the Executive Committee of the Council.

Nemeth, Horn on CEMA

*AU0807132288 Budapest MTI English
0718 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 07/07/1988—Thursday's NEPSZABADSAG carries an interview with Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Political Committee, and Gyula Horn, state secretary of foreign affairs, who attended the Prague session of the CEMA.

Some excerpts:

Miklos Nemeth:

The support and stabilizing effect provided for Hungary by the CEMA ten to twenty years ago have turned to the opposite sometimes. The conflicting interests emerging in cooperation can hardly be reconciled with the current set of means.

Hungary, for instance, has an interest in importing a certain proportion of raw materials and energy carriers from the Soviet Union, and exporting manufactured goods, mainly machinery, to the Soviet market. By contrast, the Soviet Union would reduce its raw material and energy deliveries, and buy more food and light industrial articles and products representing high, or almost high, technology from Hungary. The Hungarian industry, however, is not yet prepared for the latter, it should first be restructured, that requires money. Our food products are taken over at prices which include insufficient, if any, profit. It is a difficult situation from which we could only escape with a price system reflecting the world market prices.

I would not say that the internal mechanisms are approaching. Although the words reflect a radical call for, and commitment to, reforms, there are great differences between the ways of solution. It could even be observed in the negotiating hall that we do not mean the same by the terms of the reform: price, convertibility, bank, market.

Gyula Horn:

The Hungarian delegation holds the position, as it did in the past, that it is only worth strengthening integration if its set of means is modernized. I see some development in this field, at least in wording and aspirations. The idea of changing the internal mechanism has been accepted in most countries. In such a case our participation in integration yields economic gains. But I emphasize that integration cannot hinder us in developing relations with other parts of the world. The views that we should build bridges exclusively among ourselves have disappeared by today.

Nemeth:

I hold this particularly important, too. There have been essential changes in this field which are also reflected by the agreement signed with the EEC. However, if the price reform is belated or postponed, and hierarchical, subjective decisions remain dominant in some member countries, we cannot estimate whether a joint project will yield profit. In this case the subsidies will be retained and the incomes of profitable ventures invariably siphoned off. If this practice remains unchanged, the radical reform of the CEMA will be postponed and the CEMA will be unable to integrate into the world economy as a whole, into the world-wide economic division of labour. It holds true not only for the member countries but also for the CEMA as a whole that economic cooperation should extend beyond its borders.

Horn:

Our political commitment means that the socialist community, to which we belong as a socialist country, is of primary importance for us. Although we have to find our prosperity first of all in this sphere, this cannot hinder us in developing relations with the nonsocialist world.

Nemeth:

We have to earn in this sphere as well. Today the very hard, so to say, harsh economic interests are decisive and will become even more important

Mongolia's Sodnom Speaks

OW1107211188 Ulaanbaatar MONTSAME in English 1705 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 11 Jul (MONTSAME)—New political thinking and constructive approach of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries towards settlement of vitally important problems of mankind have been favourably influencing the course of world development, said D. Sodnom, Politburo member of the MPRP Central Committee, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers at the 44th sitting of Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) session held in Prague.

The Mongolian prime minister pointed out that the recent meeting of M.S. Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow has become [words indistinct] international event which has once again demonstrated to the world the realism and flexibility of peaceloving foreign policy of the CPSU and its leadership. The Mongolian public highly assesses the outcome of the Soviet-American summit, regarding it as a weighty contribution to preventing nuclear war threat, normalizing all systems of international relations.

Revolutionary reconstruction and democratization in the Soviet Union, renewing process in other fraternal countries attract an unremitting interest and attention of the Mongolian public, D. Sodnom said. The 19th All-Union (CPSU) Party Conference is of principled significance not only for the Soviet Union but also for the peoples of all socialist countries. The conference was held in the spirit of triumphant Lenin's ideas of building socialist society. Its documents will undoubtedly give new impulse to perfecting cooperation between our countries, outcomes of the conference are of great significance in renewing economy in our country, noted Mongolian Prime Minister D. Sodnom at the CMEA session.

Atanasov Delivers Closing Speech

AU1107200688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jul 88 p 5

[Report on statement delivered by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the closing session of the 44th CEMA Session in Prague on 7 July]

[Text] Georgi Atanasov declared: The 44th CEMA Session is nearing its end. I fully agree with Comrade Strougal, who stated that we have accomplished a necessary and useful task.

The proceedings at the session, the spirit of the debates demonstrated that new thinking and the awareness of the objective and urgent requirement for a fundamental restructuring of the integration processes are now penetrating the work of CEMA and beginning to exert a growing influence upon our joint work. It will not be only an expression of our traditional respect for the CPSU, if we stress that during our work in Prague we were influenced by the political and creative incentives of the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference and stimulated by its example in analyzing the socioeconomic realities and the future prospects of contemporary socialism.

The collective concept we adopted on the international socialist division of labor for the 1991-2005 period and the special comprehensive programs for multilateral cooperation of European CEMA member countries with the SR of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the MPR, are documents of great, and I would even say, of crucial importance for the further development of the socialist community. We are now facing the important task of proceeding to their implementation without wasting any time.

The session justifiably devoted great attention to the question of scientific-technical progress. This is quite logical as well, since the world is on the threshold of a new scientific-technical revolution in which our own community should play the role assigned to it by fate.

An important part of the 44th CEMA Session are the documents we adopted which map out the stages and essence of further work in restructuring the mechanism of socialist economic integration and the activities of the organization in connection with the establishment of a common market of CEMA member countries.

We were gratified to welcome the participation of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua, and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in our session. This was a new confirmation of the strong ties of cooperation and solidarity in the struggle for peace and social progress which are linking our countries and peoples together.

The work which is expecting us is difficult and involves great responsibility. We are convinced that our collective efforts will be crowned with success. We are confident that we will be able to uncover additional resources and incentives for the intensification of integration processes and for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our CEMA member countries aimed at the consolidation of socialist society.

I would like to express our gratitude to Comrade Lubomir Strougal for his excellent leadership of the session.

I would like to express our gratitude to Rudolf Rohlicek, chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, and to Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary, as well as to the collective he is presiding over for the preparation of the session.

I would like to express our gratitude to the Czechoslovak comrades for their hospitality and for the excellent conditions they created for our work.

In accordance with our agreement the next ordinary CEMA Session is expected to take place in Sofia—the capital of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and on the personal behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as on behalf of our government, I most sincerely invite you to attend this session.

Until our next meeting in Sofia!

Jakes, Husak Receive Mongolia's Sodnom

AU1207182388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "D. Sodnom Received by M. Jakes and G. Husak; Level of Mutual Economic Relations Appraised; Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic Presents CSSR President With the Order of Sukhe Bator"]

[Text] Prague—On Monday [4 July] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, who is currently on a friendly working visit to the CSSR as head of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic to the 44th CEMA meeting in Prague.

In a comradely cordial talk, held in an atmosphere of traditional friendship and mutual understanding, the two representatives briefed each other on the progress of economic and social restructuring in their countries and on the results already achieved in this process. They simultaneously underscored the extraordinary significance of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the course and results of which also provide inspiration for the activities of our own fraternal parties.

They expressed high appreciation for the level of mutual economic relations, stressing in this context the significance of implementing the Program of Long-Term Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the Mongolian People's Republic Through the Year 2000, as well as for the use of more effective forms of cooperation, above all in intensifying the relations of cooperation and setting up joint enterprises.

They expressed the conviction that new incentives for the further development of the economic cooperation between socialist countries will be provided by the approaching 44th CEMA Meeting, which is to adopt weighty decisions for intensifying the international socialist division of labor and enhancing the integration processes within the framework of CEMA.

Toward the end of their talk, the two representatives concurrently appraised the present positive development of international relations and the energetic role played by the USSR and the countries of the socialist community in the process of consolidating peace and the process of disarmament.

The reception was attended by Yondongiyn Ochir, ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic in the CSSR, and by Dusan Rovensky, CSSR ambassador to the Mongolian People's Republic.

On the same day, Dumaagiyn Sodnom was received at Prague Castle by CSSR President Gustav Husak, with CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal in attendance.

The two statesmen discussed a broad circle of problems, expressing appreciation for the traditional friendly relations developed in the recent talks conducted by Milos Jakes and Jambyn Batmonh, the general secretaries of the two fraternal parties, in Ulaanbaatar, and for the results achieved in Czechoslovak-Mongolian cooperation. At the same time they pointed out that it is essential to purposefully enrich this cooperation with new forms, based on mutual advantages. In discussing international issues, the two representatives underscored the extraordinary significance of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference not only for Soviet society, but also for the other socialist countries.

In the course of the talk, Dumaagiyn Sodnom presented Comrade Gustav Husak with the Order of Sukhe Bator. This highest Mongolian decoration was awarded to him in appreciation for his past efforts to develop Czechoslovak-Mongolian relations and for his personal contribution to the consolidation of fraternal friendship between the people of the two countries.

The festive ceremony was attended by Comrades Milos Jakes, Lubomir Strougal, and Vasil Bilak. The Mongolian representatives present on the occasion were Choynoryn Suren, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of light industry of the Mongolian People's Republic; and Gombosurengiyn Dashdabaa, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Toward the end of their meeting, Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, invited Comrade Gustav Husak, on behalf of Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, to pay an official visit to the Mongolian People's Republic. The invitation was gratefully accepted, with the provision that the date would be determined through diplomatic channels.

Jakes Receives CEMA Delegations

AU1307161588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "For Speedier Progress in Restructuring CEMA Activities; Comrade M. Jakes Meets Representatives of CEMA Delegations"]

[Excerpt] Prague—This Wednesday [6 July] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received the representatives of delegations from socialist countries which are attending the 44th CEMA Meeting in Prague. At this meeting Comrade Milos Jakes stressed that the 44th CEMA session is being held shortly after the conclusion of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference; and that the internationally significant course and results of this conference also provide many suggestions and incentives for the process of restructuring and democratization in other socialist countries. We in the CPCZ are now studying them in great detail, we are learning from them, and drawing on them for our own work, he said.

It is vitally important for Czechoslovakia to intensify its participation in the international division of labor, particularly as regards the Soviet Union and other CEMA states. The successful restructuring of our national economy, its modernization, and the effective use of scientific-technical progress depend on this. In carrying out the economic reform (with its strikingly pro-integration features) we also take into account the restructuring of economic mechanisms in other socialist countries.

We are interested in reaching a qualitatively higher level of socialist economic integration, and in radically raising its efficiency on the basis of a broader utilization of economic tools of management and money-market relations. That is why we are striving to speed up the restructuring process both in the mechanism of intra-CEMA cooperation and in its activities, and also to progress more speedily in jointly resolving currency, price, and foreign currency issues, in establishing system prerequisites for expanding cooperation and specialization in production, and in establishing direct contacts between enterprises and organizations (also by founding joint ventures and creating a socialist market). Certain problems will naturally emerge (and are, in fact, already emerging) in the restructuring activities within the CEMA framework. We must overcome them through joint efforts and in comradely cooperation.

The CPCZ Central Committee general secretary then proceeded to brief the assembled on the progress achieved in implementing the strategic line of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the conclusions of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions, and on the course of the economic and social restructuring process (its core is the comprehensive economic reform, and the intensification of socialist democracy for the sake of developing the people's initiative and making use of their creative talents).

Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, then addressed the meeting on behalf of the delegations from the fraternal countries. He provided data on the course and results achieved to date at the CEMA meeting, which follows up the results of the 1986 working session of leading representatives of the fraternal parties and also the results of last year's 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session in Moscow. The current session is meant to push through new approaches to scientific-technical and economic collaboration within the CEMA framework, and also to take a more significant step toward substantially deepening the socialist economic integration.

The main roads toward this goal are set out in the draft of the Collective Concept of International Socialist Division of Labor for the Years 1991-2005 submitted here. The further, more detailed elaboration of the adopted document and its consistent implementation should, inter alia, be favorably manifested in the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000. In this context Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that it is essential to restructure the mechanism of cooperation within the CEMA framework. He then thanked the Czechoslovak side on behalf of the participants in the meeting for establishing such favorable conditions for the CEMA deliberations.

Concluding the meeting, which was held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere of mutual understanding, Comrade Milos Jakes wished the participants in the 44th CEMA Meeting great success in their important and responsible deliberations, and successes in their joint implementation of the adopted resolutions. [passage omitted]

Dascalescu,Jakes Meet With Delegates

AU0707072788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0644 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Prague (AGERPRES) 7/7/1988—Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, met Wednesday with the heads of the delegations to the 44th CMEA session.

Cordial greetings and the best wishes of health and success were conveyed on the occasion by Constantin Dascalescu from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

Warmly thanking, Milos Jakes asked that a warm message of friendship be given to Nicolae Ceausescu alongside wishes of health and further success in his activity as a whole.

Strougal Receives Zemljaric

LD0707141288 Prague CTK in English 1244 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today Yugoslav Vice-President Janez Zemljaric, within the current 44th CMEA session.

They exchanged views on the course of the session and agreed that it constitutes a step forward in solving many pressing questions of the organization arising in the process of restricturing the integration mechanism towards a common market. They appreciated the atmosphere of openness in which the session is held.

Speaking of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav cooperation, they recalled the good results achieved during recent talks between the two countries' premiers in Belgrade at which the two sides agreed on the need to intensify mutual economic cooperation and to give it new contents and forms as it is required by the present time and economic reforms currently under way in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Attendance List at 7 Jul CEMA Reception

AU1407080088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Reception at Prague Castle"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR President, and the CSSR Government gave a reception in honor of the participants in the 44th CEMA session in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle [on 7 July].

The reception was attended by Comrades Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Lubomir Strougal, Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Jaroslav Hajn, Zdenek Horeni, Vasil Mohorita, and Miroslav Stepan.

The reception was attended by delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Vietnam, the SFRY, Angola, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the PDRY, Laos, Mozambique, and Nicaragua.

CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev and ambassadors of the states that took part in the 44th CEMA session also were among the guests. [passage omitted]

Prokup Murra Speaks at Army Day Meeting

AU1007144988 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Report on speech by Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of people's defense, at a solemn meeting held at the Palace of Brigades in Tirana at 1600 GMT on 9 July to mark the 45th anniversary of the foundation of the Albanian People's Army—portions recorded]

[Text] [Begin Murra recording] Comrades, our people and their Armed Forces are today commemorating one of the most memorable and important events in the National Liberation War, the date of 10 July 1943, the day of the creation of our People's Army. Time goes by, new generations will follow, but the more years that elapse, all the more magnificent will be this monumental deed of the party and of our beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The road that we have traversed is a heroic and glorious one. We liberated Albania through a bitter struggle against the foreign and domestic enemies and rebuilt the country through much effort and struggle. The heroism of our valiant people, their numerous sacrifices, and the pure and red blood of their best sons lie at the foundation of these victories. The 45th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army finds Albania stronger and more prosperous, with a developed economy and culture, and always on the ascent. A sound situation prevails throughout the country and a militant unity is to be found among the people and between the people and the party. A creative atmosphere and a revolutionary mobilization to implement the decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress prevail among the working masses, in the cities and in the countryside, young and old. Everything in our country is being achieved through our internal forces and resources, through the efforts and toil of our people. The great achievements attained in all fields of life have made our defense even more invincible. Every step forward taken by Socialist Albania has strongly influenced the development and comprehensive progress of our People's Army. [end recording]

Comrade Prokop Murra then went on to say:

Since its inception, the party traced the road along which the Liberation War and our Army itself were to advance. It educated the Albanian people in the spirit of the revolution and made plain to them the teaching of history that freedom is not donated, but is won through blood and sacrifices. Creatively applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism under the concrete conditions of our country, the party was able to create within a short time an armed volunteer army, with an iron and conscious discipline, and with all the structures of a military organization. The party's slogan "Death to fascism—freedom to the people" aroused all honest patriots and progressive people. From their midst and in the course of the war itself, there emerged, were trained, and were tempered our heroic commanders and commissars. They wore no insignia and held no military rank, but their hearts were strong and their ideals were great. They were determined, valiant, and were protected by the wisdom and struggle of the people.

Stressing that the foreign invaders and occupiers have always tried to divide and prevent the unity of the people, Comrade Prokop Murra pointed out that during the National Liberation War, too, these enemies made every effort to extinguish our struggle, since they would in this way more easily attain their goals. The creation of the General Staff was an objective and essential necessity and a logical consequence of the growth of the armed struggle of our people. The Army's strategic leadership was raised to a higher level through the creation of the General Staff, and the organization and management of the war was further perfected. Life proved that the appointment of Comrade Enver Hoxha as political commissar of this staff was a complete guarantee to achieve the leading role of the party in the Army. Stressing that the party was the creator, inspirer, and tested organizer of the National Liberation War, Comrade Prokop Murra said that it was the driving force that achieved the unity of the people in the Antifascist National Liberation Front and aroused the masses in the struggle against the occupiers and domestic traitors. Through its maturity and wisdom, the party not only used the freedom-loving spirit and combat experience of our people, but further enriched them, provided them with new substance, and opened up vistas.

The party, Comrade Prokop Murra went on to say, had educated our Army with the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism. In those years, when Albania itself had not been fully liberated from the invaders, our National Liberation Army honorably fulfilled another glorious task: After September 1944, by order of the supreme commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, two divisions of our Army were dispatched to Yugoslavia, fighting heroically and shedding their blood side by side with the peoples of Yugoslavia and our Kosovar brethren in Kosovo and in Montenegro, in the Sandjak, and in Bosnia. They thus gave a concrete example of the bonds and sincere relations with the peoples of neighboring countries in the struggle against the common enemy.

The date of 29 November 1944 marked the glorious crowning of the most heroic and triumphant war ever waged by the Albanians throughout their history. Our people showed exceptional vitality in this struggle. A 70,000-strong Army was created, which engaged over 15 enemy divisions throughout the country. Numbering only 1 million, the Albanian people shouldered a heavy burden and made a valuable contribution to the victory over fascism. Our generation, and those to come, remember and will remember the partisans with profound respect, all those who through their bravery, courage, and sacrifices, with their blood and lives, brought the long-awaited freedom and independence. Their sacrifice, selflessness, their love for the party, the people, and the homeland, will always be a source of inspiration and a reference point for future generations and all the personnel of our People's Army.

Our National Liberation War vindicated in practice the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the internal factor constitutes the decisive factor for victory, that it is that army and that people who will win, which have a high morale, clear objectives, who are conscious of the struggle that they are waging, and who are guided by a truly revolutionary party. Giving priority to the principle of self-reliance, the party and our people have never underrated the external factor, either, the struggle of the other peoples. The struggle of the Soviet people under the leadership of the great Stalin, as well as the liberation struggle of other countries against fascism, were also a source of support and inspiration to the Antifascist National Liberation Struggle of our own people. But it is a fact that Albania is the only country in Europe which liberated itself entirely through its own forces, without the direct intervention of any outside force.

In our Army, Comrade Prokop Murra went on to say, it is the party which is in command. The party has always been the heart and brain of the Army. Its role is played effectively and completely throughout the military, ideopolitical, and organizational activity carried out in the Army, at every level of the structure of our Armed Forces. The party has tempered and educated the Army with the best combat traditions of the National Liberation Army, with revolutionary principles, and with the norms of communist morality. The Army has been constantly tempered and modernized, from a military and technical viewpoint, and it remains always vigilant as a conscious arm in defense of freedom and national sovereignty.

In conformity with the directives of the Ninth AWP Congress and the instructions of the supreme commander, Comrade Ramiz Alia, efforts are being carried out in the Army to further raise the qualitative level of the party's work. This work is being centered on raising the dynamism and militancy of the party organizations, of the communists, and of the cadres, and on strengthening the moral-political state and the combat capability of units. Throughout the countinuous process of the growth and modernization of our Army, the party has adopted and has applied a number of revolutionizing measures. It has transformed the Army into a great center of patriotism and a great school. The participation of the mass of the soldiers in resolving problems and in perfecting military duties has increased, giving priority to the strengthening of discipline. As comrades and brothers of the same ideal, the cadres and the soldiers have enhanced their mutual respect in their mutual relations and in the relations between themselves and the people.

Comrade Enver's teachings pertaining to the free military schools and the party's determination to apply these teachings in practice have made it possible to achieve in our country, for the first time in history, Lenin's brilliant idea that no force on earth will dare threaten a country's freedom if the armed people themselves, who have eliminated the military caste and who have turned all soldiers into citizens and made all citizens able to use weapons, become a shield in defense of this freedom. The strengthening of the economy and of the country's defense potential can never be separated. A strong economy guarantees a strong and invincible defense. There is no successful construction of socialism and no happy life for the people, for their present and their future, without vigilantly defending national freedom and independence. This is the party's line and that is why the people and the Army are one and inseparable. All the people are working together, training themselves militarily and physically in the various structures of the Armed Forces, becoming masters in the use of weapons and military equipment.

During its 45 years of existence and under the party's leadership, the Army has become conscious that its strength, compactness, and invincibility do not rest solely on weapons and military equipment, nor on its structural organization alone, which has been perfected in conformity with the advance of our society. Time places very high demands in the field of combat-readiness. This requires that all Army personnel, particularly its cadres, should make greater efforts to extend their ideopolitical, cultural, and scientific horizons, to further enhance their military thinking, to strengthen the democratic spirit, and to ennoble their sentiments, as is required by the honor of servicemen, the level of education, and the high cultural level of our new man.

The organization of our invincible defense is based on the principles of the People's Military Art elaborated by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. This art represents a valuable contribution to the enhancement and further development of the Marxist-Leninist military thinking on the Army and on defense, in our concrete conditions. The study and mastery of this art occupies an important place. Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed that the education of Army personnel with this art, its creative mastery and application by the cadres, soldiers, and all the personnel of our Armed Forces, its further enrichment in conformity with the conditions of the country's economic and cultural development, in conformity with the international political situation, and the development of weapons and war methods used by our enemies, are major tasks for the party in the Army, the commands, and staffs in every unit.

Speaking about the present-day international situation, Comrade Prokop Murra said that life is vindicating the correctness of the analyses and scientific conclusions of the Ninth AWP Congress pertaining to the present international situation, which is complex and fraught with tensions and conflicts, with consequences to peace and international security.

American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism remain the main danger to peace and to the freedom and independence of the peoples. In Europe, the two major military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, constitute a constant danger and a factor of confrontation as a result of the policies that they are pursuing. Since World War II, hundreds of thousands of American and Soviet troops have remained on this continent, armed to the teeth with weapons and equipment. Their military maneuvers, too, which are being constantly expanded and intensified, threaten international peace.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been and remains in favor of a ban on nuclear tests. It is against the arms race of the superpowers and their alliances. It is against the militarization of space, and against all projects increasing the danger of war, regardless of their nature: nuclear, chemical, or conventional. Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed that the security of all countries is a task that cannot be left aside. But this security can be achieved neither by being present in NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, nor by placing a country under the umbrella of any of the superpowers. Socialist Albania is progressing incessantly on the road of the revolution and socialist construction. We are proud of our achievements and our brilliant prospects are clear to us. At the same time, we attentively follow all developments throughout the world and do not forget that there are those who do not wish us well and who are striving to divert us from our path. Let us therefore work incessantly to sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and the combat-readiness of our Armed Forces.

The development of relations with the neighboring countries constitutes one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We are in favor of strengthening and extending these relations on the basis of the well-known principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and mutual benefit. Our wishes and our action in this field, as well as our concrete assistance, were not lacking at the meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan countries, which we evaluated as a positive development in our region and a step forward toward increasing Balkan understanding, trust, and cooperation. For this good beginning to be followed by further steps, it is essential to strengthen and develop mutual relations consistently, as a basis for multilateral cooperation. We have adhered to and will continue to adhere to the view that the Balkans belong to its peoples. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, Socialist Albania desires that the Balkan peoples should be free of foreign tutelage and dictation, that they should progress on the road of their national, democratic, and social emancipation.

In conclusion, Comrade Prokop Murra said:

[Begin Murra recording] The entire party, all the Albanian people, and the personnel of the Armed Forces will, in steel-like unity and mobilized like never before, celebrate this year with profound respect the 80th anniversary of the birth of our great and unforgettable leader, our supreme commander, and the architect of the new Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. [applause]

His life and his deed have been and will remain forever a source of inspiration and an infallible compass on our road toward the country's socialist construction. United like one single body around the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Ramiz Alia, our People's Army, all the defense structures, will, also in the future, be a guarantor of our victories, remaining at all times a loyal sentinel of the homeland.

Glory to the name and deed of our unforgettable commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha. [applause]

Long live the 45th anniversary of our People's Army. [applause]

Long live our magnificent, heroic, brave, and industrious people. [applause]

Long live our glorious AWP and the beloved leader of the party and of the people, the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, Comrade Ramiz Alia. [applause]

Glory to Marxism-Leninism. [end recording]

Zhivkov, Yotov Speak at BCP CC Plenum Opening

AU1907102488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Report on opening of the BCP Central Committee Plenum on Restructuring in the Intellectual Sphere on 19 July 1988 at the Boyana Residence in Sofia]

[Text] A plenum of the BCP Central Committee on restructuring in the intellectual sphere opened at the Boyana Residence this morning.

It was opened by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

[Begin Zhivkov recording] Dear comrades, permit me to open the session of the BCP Central Committee. In addition to members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, the following delegates are attending the plenum: the chairman and the members of the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission; the secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and members of the BZNS permanent board; representatives and figures from the scientific, cultural, and educational sectors. As you see, the plenum is expanded.

The following agenda of the plenum is proposed: to discuss the restructuring of the intellectual sphere. Are there any objections to this agenda of the plenum? Obviously, there are none. I request the members of the BCP Central Committee who agree with the agenda to vote by raising their hands. Please; there are no votes against and no abstentions. The agenda is adopted unanimously.

The draft documents on restructuring in the intellectual sphere have been distributed in advance. I give the floor to Comrade Yordan Yotov for an introductory speech on the agenda of the plenum. [end recording].

[Begin Yotov recording] Comrades, the consistent application of the decisions adopted by the 13th BCP Congress on the qualitative new growth of society in our country have made it possible for the BCP Central Committee to adopt a new concept on the further construction of socialism in our country at its 1987 July plenum.

Responding to an urgent necessity, the concept of the 1987 July plenum served the goal of ensuring full expansion for the implementation of the immeasurably great opportunities and advantages of the new approach to the intellectual sphere, and marked the beginning of its revolutionary restructuring.

The implementation of this victory of history in the intellectual sphere is one of the basic trends for the fundamental innovation of our society. The importance of restructuring in the intellectual sphere is determined above all by the effect that its impact has exerted upon man [words indistinct], man who is the essential goal of our party's policy, the goal of communist theory, and of the communist movement. Man is the basic force of development; in his role as the basic component of a community called a nation, he is the creator of history.

It is our strategic task to develop a many-sided, highly educated, intellectually rich, and morally lofty personality, to create all necessary prerequisites for the full self-assertion of this personality. This urgently requires that we bring about radical changes in the spheres of science, education, culture, and arts. The achievement of leading positions in the scientific-technical revolution and the highest achievements of social progress in our developed and self-managing society are unthinkable without the purposeful, intensive expansion of our country's intellectual potential.

The BCP has always attached great importance to the role of the intellectual sphere in transforming society. The great achievements of our socialist culture, the prestige it has won throughout the world—these are testimonies to the correctness of the cultural policy adopted by the 1956 April plenum.

Both the truth and our human duty require us to pay well-deserved tribute to the unforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkova for the prosperity achieved in Bulgarian intellectual culture during the years of the April plenum upsurge.

Yes, our successes are beyond any doubt. However, today we are all aware that the state of our intellectual life no longer conforms to the new historical realities and to the lofty goals of the July 1987 concept.

The development of the potential of our intellectual sphere has always been the focus of the party's attention. The fact that this plenum is specially devoted to restructuring in the intellectual sphere by no means signifies that we have underestimated this sphere in the past.

We live in a time of radical change. We are parting with an outdated, fully exhausted model of socialism. The nature of change which characterizes our epoch requires that we should free ourselves of all forms and manifestations of the command-administrative approaches, methods, and means of leadership in connection with the functioning and development of science, education, culture, and arts. [end recording]

Warsaw Pact Summit Meeting Concludes

Zhivkov Returns

AU1607153488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] The Bulgarian party and state delegation, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, returned from Warsaw today. The delegation participated in the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

The delegation was welcomed at Sofia airport by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, and Grigor Stoichkov.

Politburo Approves Summit

AU1807184888 Sofia BTA in English
1730 GMT 18 July 88

["At the Politburo of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 18 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC of the BCP discussed and approved a briefing on the results of the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, held in Warsaw on July 15 and 16, says an announcement that has been released for publication here.

The work of the Bulgarian delegation, headed by Mr Todor Zhivkov secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, was highly commended.

The Politburo endorsed the assessment of the present-day international situation and the ensuing conclusions, as well as the new practical steps outlined by the supreme body of the Warsaw Treaty for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and the world. It was emphasized that thanks to the efforts of the socialist countries and of the world public, as well as thanks to the realism manifested by the government circles in the West, positive tendencies are gaining ground on the international scene. The Politburo of the CC of the BCP entirely agreed with the conclusion that international life is in transition from confrontation to cooperation, that the nuclear war threat has receded.

It was emphasized that qualitatively new conditions are emerging for the promotion of efforts towards universal security. These conditions are provided, above all, by the steady and vigorous Soviet-American dialogue and by the relaxation of East-West politico-military confrontation. There are feasible opportunities for a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic nuclear capabilities of the USSR and the U.S. while strictly observing the antiballistic missile treaty, for a complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon heads, for a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons and for a destruction of their stockpiles, for reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals and for the realisation of the "common European home" concept, for a peaceful and just settlement of the regional conflicts.

The Politburo expressed unqualified support for the consistent and constructive efforts of the USSR in its dialogue with the U.S., for the new Soviet initiatives for peace, security, confidence and cooperation in Europe and worldwide.

At this stage, the problem of lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe is coming to the fore. The declaration on negotiations about cuts in troop levels and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals is a document of great significance which complements and specifies the joint platform of the Warsaw Treaty member states on radical reciprocal reductions of the two alliances' military fore capabilities in Europe and on guaranteeing the politico-military stability at an increasingly lower level.

In this light, the Politburo subscribed without reservation to the position taken by the participants in the meeting concerning the need for an early completion of the Vienna follow-up conference on security and cooperation in Europe with the adopting of a meaningful and balanced document, which can be achieved on the condition that the participating countries invest the maximum of constructive efforts and political will.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP stressed the importance of the candid and in-depth exchange of views at the Warsaw session on the various aspects of ecological security and of the document adopted on that matter. It was emphasized that the solution of the ecological problems of global relevance is unthinkable without the promotion of wide-ranging state-to-state cooperation on bilateral as well as on multilateral basis.

The Politburo reiterated its profound conviction that the processes of renewal in the allied states are immensely important for the consolidation of the positions of socialism on the international scene and for the further promotion of the positive tendencies in Europe and the world. The fraternal parties are at the beginning of gaining international experience in restructuring, to which each one of them makes its own contribution. In this connection, the exchange of views and information in the field of socialist construction, held in Warsaw, was highly commended, and an emphasis was once again laid on the importance of the theoretical formulations and the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU and of the national conferences and plenums of fraternal parties.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP noted with satisfaction the creative and democratic atmosphere in which the session passed. The Political Consultative Committee adopted major decisions in the spirit of friendship and cooperation. They are a guarantee that the Warsaw Treaty member states' strategic line will be implemented, that peace and security will be safeguarded, that confidence will be further built and cooperation promoted in Europe and in the world at large.

Khranov Comments on Summit

AU1707190788 Sofia BTA in English
1739 GMT 17 Jul 88

["The Warsaw Appeal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA Political Observer Nencho Khranov)—The supreme forum of the Warsaw Treaty Organization which held its session in the Polish capital opened new opportunities for development of the political dialogue between the East and the West, for serious negotiations on the reduction of armies and armaments in Europe, for healing of the international situation.

The seven European socialist countries displayed in practice the new political thinking, their responsibility and will for strengthening of European security, for making the new positive processes in the world irreversible.

Now after the entering into force of the INF Treaty, when the Moscow summit gave impetus to the negotiations on the 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons between the two super powers, the question for reduction of conventional weapons comes out with special force. The declaration adopted in Warsaw shows the serious goodwilled approach, the sincere will for the achievement of a breakthrough in this sphere, as soon as possible, on the basis of complete equality, with the desire that the two military-political alliances should remain only with army and devices necessary for defense. It is clear that the achievement of such aim will create new situation on the European continent—with higher military-political stability, with strengthening of trust and lessening of military threat.

The Warsaw Treaty member states developed and raised to a new, even more realistic stage, its program for European disarmament, which has been adopted two years ago in Budapest and complemented last year in Berlin.

An orderly three-stage plan is set at the negotiations table at present which will bring to equally reduced levels of armed forces and weapons of the Warsaw Treaty member states and the NATO members. A plan that provides the possibility, as early as its second stage, for reduction of the armies with 500 thousand people by both sides and then for even greater reductions. It is important at present to focus the attention on the mutual elimination of the disbalances and asymetries in the different kinds of weapons and armies of the two military-political alliances. That is why of special practical significance is the proposal for exchange of data for the negotiations accompanied by the possibility for an on-site inspection.

The main thing is immediately, as early as this year, to start negotiations on European conventional disarmament. In this connection the proposals set forth by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech before the Polish Sejm stirred a great interest and won support at the session in the Polish capital. It is the proposal about the convening of an all-European meeting of government leaders devoted on disarmament, something like a "second Reykjavik". The hasty objections of some commentators and politicians from the West that such a meeting would undermine NATO's unity isolating the U.S. and Canada, has turned out to be unfounded. The proposal includes all states that have signed the Helsinki Final Act.

And why should not be used the experience of the establishing of the center for prevention of unexpected nuclear attack between the USSR and the U.S.A by establishing similar European center for decreasing the military threat? This idea of the Soviet leader, as well as the proposal not to base the 72 fighter jets of NATO in Italy against the withdrawal of Soviet planes from Eastern Europe are directed toward gradual build up of more security and trust and have the support of the allied socialist countries.

We want to believe that the NATO member-states will display maximum political will and responsibility and will respond most seriously to the invitation for negotiations and resolution for decreasing of the military opposition in the European Continent. The other European countries can also have important role in this process.

The Warsaw Treaty member states stood for completion of the work of the Vienna meeting as soon as possible, for the adoption of a balanced document at it. There are all the conditions at the meeting in the Austrian capital for the achievement of agreements which should strengthen the principles of mutual realtions between the states, should make more dynamic the process of development of the relations between states, of disarmament and cooperation in all spheres. That is why now, before the final, political will and maximum constructive efforts are necessary for the solution of all questions.

The allied socialist states displayed new approach to such a serious and global question as those referring to environment conservation. The proposals contained in the specially adopted document create conditions for the turning of the European Continent into an example in the struggle for the preservation of environment, for the building of efficient ecological security.

The decisions of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states are a sincere contribution to the construction of our all-European house without wars and violence, on the sound basis of equality, goodneighbour relations and cooperation.

Strougal, USSR's Ryzhkov Confer in Prague

AU1407154488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "L. Strougal and N. Ryzhkov Confer"]

[Text] Prague—CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of USSR Council of Ministers, met on Thursday evening [8 July] in Hrzan Palace in Prague.

They again assessed the course taken by the economic reform in both countries, and found that the reform depends on the way in which the political transformations progress. They then reviewed the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which will fundamentally affect the theory and practice of building socialism.

Subsequently, they followed up the Monday [4 July] deliberations of the two government delegations, primarily devoted to the further advancement of economic cooperation between the two countries. In this context, the heads of the two governments again stressed the need to expand the most progressive forms of this cooperation, particularly by establishing direct relations between enterprises, associations, and institutes, and by setting up joint enterprises. At the same time, they stated that no basic shift can be achieved in the economic sphere without extensive, democratizating changes in social life.

The two statesmen also evaluated the results of the 44th CEMA session which has just ended, after taking a significant step toward restructuring the existing mechanism of socialist economic integration, pushing through a really efficient division of labor between the CEMA states, and thus establishing the first prerequisites for a common market. It will be impossible to carry out these basic changes without enforcing the relations between money and goods, and total respect for the laws which govern the economy. The new and far more exacting demands on the cooperation between socialist countries have led to a businesslike, critical, and at times even polemical discussion, which facilitated a broad exchange of views and led to the adoption of important final documents. The heads of the two governments jointly assessed the possibilities of speedily implementing the results of the session in practice.

Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov also took a stand on the main international-political problems of the present, pointing out the need to achieve further progress in the disarmament process and to develop a political dialogue among states with different social systems. They devoted particular attention to the issues of peaceful cooperation and security in Europe, affirming their governments interest in the successful conclusion of the follow-up meeting in Vienna.

On the same day, the Soviet guest met Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Czech SR. In a cordial, comradely talk the two representatives discussed the possibilities of further intensifying mutual cooperation along party and state lines, and of implementing the conclusions of the 44th CEMA session under the conditions prevailing in the Czech SR. Ladislav Adamec briefed the guest on the experience acquired by the Czech Government in restructuring the economic mechanism and in the process of democratization, and also on problems with which we are coping in accomplishing the tasks of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions.

He expressed great appreciation for the international significance of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and pointed out that it has yielded topical suggestions for basic changes in our country's political, economic, and spiritual life. The head of the Soviet Government showed particular interest in the knowledge we have acquired in restructuring the state agencies and introducing the new economic mechanism, both in the center and at the enterprise level, and also showed interest in the working people's views on these issues.

Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, was present on both occasions.

Greet Joint Enterprise

LD1807215788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, have sent a joint letter of greetings to the working collectives of the Skoda Plzen and Uralmash Sverdlovsk enterprises on the 30th anniversary of cooperation. The letter says that during this period the first commercial contacts changed into an extensive and all-around production and scientific-technical cooperation. The two enterprises are among the first to support the process of economic integration of Czechoslovakia and the USSR and use cooperation as an effective factor of intensification of production and increasing the national income. The creation of the joint Czechoslovak-Soviet enterprise Skoda-Uralmash, which will design and produce rolling equipment, has become an important event in the mutually beneficial cooperation.

In the joint letter comrades Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov emphasize that the activity of these enterprises reflects the efforts of the two countries to establish closer fraternal cooperation in all spheres of public life, to understand each other better and to draw closer, to use bilaterally their experience in the interest of the further progress of socialist society.

Pact Consultative Session in Warsaw Evaluated

LD1707211088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Excerpts] A session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which adopted exceptionally important documents, ended in the Polish capital, Warsaw, yesterday. Vladimir Baeumel comments:

[Baeumel] The Warsaw session of higher political and military representatives of Warsaw Pact states is of historical importance and not only because it was held in an exceptionally important period in the development of socialist countries, but, above all, because it adopted new peace initiatives in a period when East-West relations are at a vital crossroads. The deep and all-around analysis of the present international situation which is included in the session's documents has proved that despite the important steps on the path toward disarmament, the international situation as a whole continues to be full of contradictions, continues to be serious and complex.

It can be said that the process of detente has not yet been given irreversible character. This very fact was reflected not only on the proceedings of the talks in Warsaw but, above all, on the direction and contents of the final documents which deal exclusively with the main problems of mankind—that is, questions of disarmament and ecology. Already from a quick glance at the adopted documents, it is obvious that they are interlinked firmly with the key idea of the present—toward preventing war, toward mutual understanding and cooperation, simply speaking, how to ensure permanent peace. Representatives of Warsaw Pact states have agreed that in order to achieve this strategic goal of mankind it is necessary to further increase efforts for disarmament. [passage omitted]

Proceedings and results of the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee have confirmed yet again not only the purely defensive character of the Warsaw Pact but also the firm determination of all its member states to do everything for a resolute transition to disarmament, for the creation of a better, a more just world without weapons and wars.

Ministry Comments on Gorbachev's Sejm Proposal

AU1507172088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
13 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman: M. Gorbachev's Proposals Express Our Vital Interest"]

[Text] Prague—This Tuesday [12 July] Dusan Rovensky, spokesman of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that the proposal presented by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to the Polish Sejm (namely, to set up a European center for reducing the danger of war) is most significant.

In his statement to the press, D. Rovensky stressed that the implementation of this proposal would considerably contribute toward reducing tension on our European continent and positively affect the international situation. Czechoslovakia fully supports this proposal, which is also in harmony with the goals pursued by the initiative to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, submitted by CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes, D. Rovensky declared.

The center could become a place of cooperation for NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Its activities would positively affect efforts to ease the military tension and to establish relations of trust. In our eyes, the work of the center could be shared both by the states belonging to the two military-political groupings, and also by other European states that are interested in cooperating.

The center could play an important role in establishing stability on our European continent; it could help do away with distrust, clarify unforeseen situations, exchange data on military activities, and remove the causes of misunderstandings.

The content of the work to be done by this European center in order to reduce the danger of war, the methods pursued in its activities, and other matters connected with this could be discussed in one of the international forums. The second stage of the Stockholm conference would seem to be ideal for this.

We consider most significant both M. Gorbachev's proposal to start reducing troop and armament strengths in Europe more substantially than to date, and his proposal to arrange a meeting of representatives from all European countries in order to discuss specific measures for limiting conventional weapons, etc. These proposals express our vital interest in making our European continent (already the stage of two destructive wars during the present century) a continent of security and peace, the spokesman stressed.

Austrian Policy on Polish Refugees Deplored

AU1407072588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
9 Jul 88 p 5

["C"-signed article in the "On the Margin" column: "Refusing Applicants for 'Political Asylum'"]

[Text] Austrian authorities describe the situation in the Traiskirchen camp near Vienna, overcrowded with refugees from various places asking for "political asylum" in Austria, as critical and dramatic. The camp is crammed full. For example, 690 Polish citizens have checked in there over the past 3 days. A considerable part of them arrived on tour buses. On the border they claimed they were on a pilgrimage to Rome, but they went directly to the camp.

Since last May Austrian authorities have been—in "summary proceedings"—very bureaucratically refusing to give "political asylum" to refugees, or to grant them "refugee" status. They regard them as ordinary emigrants nurturing illusions of life without work. Authorities are even refusing to give them Austrian residence permits. The main reason for this is that no other capitalist country will take them, but Austria is running short of money to keep them.

Austrian authorities "very urgently" advise the refugees to return home. The Interior Ministry announced already last May that it will deport them. Several dozen Polish refugees wanted to force the authorities to give them asylum by holding a demonstrative hunger strike in the Traiskirchen camp. According to the [Austrian] radio they were on hunger strike only during the day, and at night they properly strengthened themselves for the hunger strike. Some refugees, who demonstrated in front of the UN building in Vienna, were taken into custody to be deported.

War Criminals Memorandum Signed With Canada

AU1507164088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jul 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Favoring the Just Punishment of All War Criminals"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak Government Commission for the Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals and the Canadian Ministry of Justice have signed a Memorandum of Mutual Understanding on Cooperation. On this subject, Dusan Rovensky, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told CTK:

The memorandum determines the main principles for cooperation between the Czechoslovak Government Commission for the Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals and the Canadian Ministry of Justice. It is the expression of the CSSR's endeavor to justly punish those who committed crimes during World War II and who are still escaping their just punishment. It is also evidence of our endeavor to work together with states that are striving for this same goal.

The memorandum is neither a state treaty in the sense of international public law [mezinarodni pravo verejne] nor a treaty on legal assistance. It is a working document on cooperation between the two bodies. A similar memorandum was signed, for example, between Canada and the USSR, Canada and the Netherlands, and other states.

The memorandum contains a number of important stipulations on cooperation in tracking down [war criminals], finding witnesses, compiling documents, and other such tasks. It also determines procedures and forms of cooperation.

As was already reported, the memorandum was signed in Prague on 12 May this year. On behalf of the Czechoslovak Commission for the Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals, it was signed by its chairman Bohuslav Kucera, and by Michael Mawhinney, Canada's ambassador to the CSSR, on behalf of the Canadian minister of justice and attorney general.

The memorandum is further proof of the endeavor to cooperate, in the spirit of UN documents, on the international scene in order to consistently punish persons who have committed war crimes. The memorandum was approved by the Canadian Parliament. At its recent session, the Czechoslovak commission already took a stand on legal assistance in specific cases.

UK Criticism on Human Rights Deemed 'Farce'

AU1407161588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 88 p 7

[Jiri Roskot commentary in the "Note" column: "Paying Tribute to Old Times"]

[Text] D. Mellor, British Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, visited Czechoslovakia toward the end of June. At a press conference in Prague (as we reported) he proceeded to advise the CSSR on how it should handle human rights. Later he also granted an interview to BBC London, in which he stated that he had been defending our people's rights as they are stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act; he also complained about the (allegedly) slow progress of restructuring in Czechoslovakia and made some (mildly said) insulting remarks about the Czechoslovak leadership.

D. Mellor's words are somewhat bewildering, particularly in view of the diplomatic status of the British guest, who otherwise had every opportunity in Prague to meet whoever and however he considered suitable. Let us add that Mellor's attention to what is happening in our country could most certainly be gratifying, were it truly in harmony with the Final Act —which, after all, presumes that its signatories, including Britain, will refrain from meddling in the internal affairs of another state. As for restructuring and other issues and developments in our country, we will assess them ourselves, regardless of Mr Mellor's "interest" in them.

It would be insincere not to mention here another preacher from the British Isles, who had also come to our country in the past to hand out advice. Moreover, at that time this advice affected the destiny of our country. It was Lord Runciman; he, too, was not loath to pronounce judgment, for instance by calling us a "state that was poorly conceived," etc. True, the situation at that time was different; but at that time both London and Paris abandoned their ally in central Europe, allowing it to be swallowed by Hitler.

Today the world has changed; this particularly applies to Europe, which is currently searching for (and finding) points of contact, of understanding and fruitful collaboration. Czechoslovak-British relations are undoubtedly part and parcel of this promising process. Such use of pressure or meddling in the affairs of others have become anachronistic.

We have made a sorry experience with the advice handed out to us from time to time by the British conservatives. The Runciman of 1938 was indubitably a tragedy.... The Runciman-Mellor of 1988 is, however, nothing but a farce.

Cooperation Plan Signed With Iraqi Organization

AU1807140988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jul 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Michal Stefanak, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, received in Prague on Tuesday [12 July] Yasim Muhammad al-Riqabi, chairman of the Iraq-Czechoslovak Friendship Society and secretary of the Baghdad Ba'th Party City Committee, who paid a visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations [CSMS]. They briefed one another on the activity and tasks of their parties and favored a rapid conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war by peaceful means.

The Iraqi delegation was also received by Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the CSMS. On the same day, Vitalij Svic, chairman of the CSMS's Iraq Committee, and Yasim Muhammad al-Riqabi signed a plan for cooperation for 1988-90 between the CSMS's Iraq Committee and the Iraq-Czechoslovak Friendship Society.

Presidium Names New CC Agitprop Director

LD1807222688 Prague CTK in English 1807 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 18 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed the impulses of the 19th Soviet Communist Party conference to the Czechoslovak party's activities at its session today.

It gave instructions for the application of these impulses to the Czechoslovak party's conditions, in harmony with the conclusions of the 7th and 9th Central Committee sessions.

The Presidium discussed the principles of the comprehensive implementation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the agriculture and food complex. It is aimed at increasing the independence of enterprises and their interest in applying scientific-technological findings and promoting socialist enterprise. The changes increase the responsibility of enterprises for their final results, along with material incentives to workers. It noted that the experiences of the last few years prove the highly positive effect of smooth food supply to the market for the stabilization of the national economy.

The Presidium dealt with the proposal for the restructuring of management in agriculture and instructed communists in the Federal, Czech and Slovack Governments to debate the proposal so that it could be implemented from January 1, 1989.

The Presidium approved Jaroslav Jenik, former secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Regional Committee in East Bohemia, for the post of head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the party Central Committee.

New Bishops Pledge Loyalty to State

AU1407162688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "New Bishops Pledge Loyalty"]

[Text] Prague—This Friday [8 July] Jan Lebeda and Antonin Liska, the newly appointed suffragan bishops of the Prague Archdiocese, swore an oath of loyalty to the CSSR, as prescribed by law, before Milan Kymlicka, minister of culture of the Czech SR.

The solemn ceremony was attended by Frantisek Jelinek, deputy minister- director of the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Government of the Czech SR. Among those present were Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague; Frantisek Kotalik, dean of the metropolitan chapter; and Josef Stastny, secretary of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy in the Czech SR.

On the occasion of the ceremony, the two bishops expressed support for the CSSR's peace policy and for the process of social restructuring. The minister of culture of the Czech SR appraised the relations of mutual trust and respect between the Czechoslovak state and the Roman Catholic Church, and underscored the bilateral endeavor and goodwill to resolve topical issues in the interest of the believers and of our entire society.

Doctor of Philosophy Criticizes Journalists

AU1907113088 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Philosophy Viktor Borsky, candidate of sciences, by MLADA FRONTA staff journalist Lubos Tesar: "How To Win Trust?"—place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tesar] Is it possible to publish controversial views?

[Borsky] Of course it is; we even have a resolution on this subject—on the Leninist style of open information. In our country it would also be very necessary to expand discussion in the pages of the press and in other information media — written by experts, and with everyone having the opportunity to have his say. Of course, sometimes it seems that we lack standpoints. As if we were afraid of them. It is a question of overcoming the fear of discussion and, especially, of being afraid that one's tongue might slip.

[Tesar] Are we not used to that?

[Borsky] We are not. And we are often afraid of ourselves. But, of course, if I have a firm conviction, what should I be afraid of? My tongue might slip, but never against Marxism!

[Tesar] Is that why propagandists prefer to shroud themselves in long speeches, full of phrases that say nothing?

[Borsky] But journalists do the same! Only rarely do they succeed in writing, for example, a brief and intelligible report on a government session in such a way that people immediately understand what it is all about—without having to read a long jumble. There is also a fairly accurate term for this literary style, which one can digest only with difficulty: professional [odborna] Chinese!

[Tesar] Journalists are terrified of various speeches, communiques, and other officialese; these long pieces of material are practically killing newspapers.

[Borsky] One has to differentiate; length itself does not necessarily have to be bad. Should there be a long speech by M. Gorbachev in the newspapers, people will read it just the same, because they are waiting to see if he says something new. And he almost always says something new, and people know it. But when they are used to other materials that bring nothing new or only very little that is new—which is spread throughout half the newspaper—then, understandably, they will not read it.

[Tesar] People are increasingly snowed under with information. They select...

[Borsky] That is the reason; the people's relationship to information changes under the influence of the information explosion. The more information they get, the more they prefer brief, to the point, solid material.

[Tesar] Restructuring is the word most frequently used of late. However, people have been rather marking their time until now. Is propaganda to be blamed for this?

[Borsky] Solutions are not the affair of propaganda, but of concrete policy. What is involved, above all, is winning trust. And this is—one—a long-term affair, and—two—it depends mainly on concrete political steps.

[Tesar] One does not buy trust on the market; standpoints and, in particular, deeds earn it. If someone claims and does A for a number of years, and now he begins to claim B and passes it off as new thinking, it is not very plausible.

[Borsky] The latest public opinion polls really revealed that 90 percent of the people wish for restructuring, but a number of them have no trust in it.

[Tesar] Is there a way propaganda could help in this respect?

[Borsky] It will not find it easy. It should be a step ahead of reality but, at the same time, should not go against reality. In this lies the great difficulty of the dialectics. The biggest task and, at the same time, the biggest problem of our propaganda in restructuring is to awaken hope and faith in people that life will become better. And, at the same time, force people to ponder how I—and every one of us—can influence this, how one can contribute to that.

[Tesar] I thank you for the interview.

Rumors of Pollution From Copter Crash Denied

AU1807142988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jul 88 p 2

["ST"-signed report: "Helicopter Crash"]

[Text] Prague (Our correspondent)—According to a CTK report published on Tuesday [12 July], a military helicopter with a group of military paratroopers aboard for training jumps crashed over the water reservoir in Sec in the Chrudim district and capsized. According to local sources, crew members were saved but one member of the Czechoslovak People's Army, who was aboard the helicopter, is missing.

The speedy and selfless help of nearby sportsmen, who helped to save the crew members with small boats, has been appreciated. Untruthful rumors about a greater number of victims from among the sportsmen and about the reservoir being polluted had been spread among the public. Official quarters confirm that none of the sportsmen had been killed or injured. The helicopter fuel tanks were not damaged during the crash nor during the salvage work and the water in the reservoir was not polluted.

The crash occurred last Thursday [7 July]. Let us add that the timely reporting of this event would have, without a doubt, prevented unnecessary rumors.

USSR's Yazov Receives Kessler in Moscow

LD1807192488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jul (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, met with Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of defense, in Moscow today for an exchange of views. The ministers discussed questions of mutual interest.

Heinz Kessler will travel on to the DPRK at the invitation of Vice Marshal O Chin-u, member of the KWP [Korean Workers Party] Politburo Presidium and director of the Korean People's Army General Political Department.

Ernst Krabatsch Interviewed on Disarmament

AU1307163088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jul 88 p 5

[Interview with Ernst Krabatsch, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, by Vladimir Prodanov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Berlin: "Great Responsibility for the Future"—date not given]

[Text] Ernst Krabatsch, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, gave the following interview to Vladimir Prodanov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Berlin:

[Prodanov] Comrade Krabatsch, can you describe the contribution of the GDR to the policy of dialogue and disarmament in East-West relations?

[Krabatsch] At the beginning of the eighties, when the international situation was particularly tense, Erich Honecker declared that it is necessary for "all political forces which are sincerely striving for peace, regardless of their political and ideological differences, regardless of the religious and class affiliations which divide them, to contribute to rescuing the peoples from nuclear disaster." Only 5 years later, the fruitful dialogue between the USSR and the United States became an inseparable component part of world politics. Within the framework of the coordinated, peace-loving policy conducted by the Warsaw Pact member-states, the GDR is actively contributing to this development.

In the first place, we should point out the political talks, at high and at the highest levels, with those forces which are politically responsible for the defense of common interests on questions of peace and disarmament. The multifarious activities of the GDR at international forums, such as the United Nations and the Vienna meeting, are well-known. We should also point out the efforts of the GDR toward the signing and implementing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the proposals for the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe. A considerable contribution in this respect was made by the Berlin International Meeting on Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in which Bulgarian delegates also participated.

[Prodanov] How do you evaluate the results of this meeting?

[Krabatsch] The importance of this meeting will increase along with the development of the disarmament process. During its proceedings it became evident that the discussion about a change in the NATO conception of a nuclear threat is exacerbating in Western Europe. The dangerous consequences of this concept, which does not exclude the waging of nuclear war and which further promotes the arms race, are becoming increasingly evident.

The Berlin meeting gave new impetus to the forces of peace and confidence. The wide and open dialogue based on equal rights made it possible to exchange experience and ideas aimed at searching for the most rational solutions for the consolidation of peace.

[Prodanov] Can you describe the new opportunities opening for the further coordination of the foreign policy of the allied states under the present international situation?

[Krabatsch] The main question today, following the coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, is the necessity for the disarmament process to be extended to other spheres, without being obstructed by artificial barriers. The Warsaw Pact member-states have submitted specific proposals in this respect.

The socialist countries are striving for a complete ban on nuclear tests, and to ban and eliminate chemical weapons. A priority question for socialist diplomacy is the prompt beginning of negotiations for the reduction of troops and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. The question of including tactical nuclear weapons in the disarmament process is also on the agenda. The idea of establishing zones with a reduced military presence along the lines dividing the two military blocks in Europe, which is to contribute to a consolidation of confidence and security, is increasingly gaining support.

The Warsaw Pact member-states will not deviate from their basic line in favor of peaceful coexistence. I think that this will be confirmed at the forthcoming session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

Mueckenberger Receives Lao Study Delegation

AU1807105188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [14 July] Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and chairman of the SED Central Committee Central Party Control Commission, received a study delegation of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] headed by Ounla Sai-gnasan, Central Committee member and deputy chairman of the Committee for Party and State Control of the LPRP Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Erich Mueckenberger briefed his visitors on the results obtained through the joint struggle of the GDR's working people in further implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, aimed at further shaping the developed socialist society and at safeguarding peace. He explained the tasks and the work methods of the party's control commissions and their role in increasing the combat strength and in further consolidating the unity and coherence of the party.

Ounla Sai-gnasan reported on the successes scored in the implementation of the resolutions of the Fourth LPRP Congress and on the initiatives of the three Indochinese states aimed at arriving at a political solution to the Cambodia issue. [passage omitted]

Honecker Sends Greetings to Nelson Mandela

LD1707103988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0916 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 17 Jul (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following greetings telegram to Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, in Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town, South Africa.

It is with a sense of deep inner emotion that I am sending to you on your 70th birthday fraternal greetings and the most cordial congratulations.

The SED, the Government and people of the German Democratic Republic, just like millions of people in all parts of the world, feel most closely allied to you because of your inexorability, your courage, and your deep love for the oppressed people of South Africa in the fight against the inhumane, internationally ostracized apartheid system.

We are proud to be able to note that our party and our state have been cooperating trustingly, in the spirit of your ideals, with your liberation organization, the African National Congress, for decades.

By conveying to you the most cordial wishes for the future we are confident that freedom for you and your imprisoned comrades will be achieved soon, and that a united, antiracist, democratic, and peace-serving South Africa will become a reality.

At the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers Presidium, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has awarded Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela the "Great Star of International Friendship" order.

Church Paper Notes Grass Roots Changes

LD1807135988 Hamburg DPA in German 1222 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR church newspaper DIE KIRCHE has published in its latest edition the speech by the SPD politician Erhard Eppler at the Erfurt church assembly in June. In his speech he referred to the "new trends" in society and to the "powerlessness of the apparently powerful." "In the final analysis the only thing that is important is what changes at the grass roots level. Where new trends and views, a new consciousness, and finally new majorities form, politicians must take these into account, in every political system, but in a different way and perhaps at a different pace," Eppler said in Erfurt. There is also "such a thing as the powerlessness of the apparently powerful, seen when they feel that consciousness is changing and that they must take this change into consideration."

The newspaper, which is published by the Evangelical Church leadership of Berlin-Brandenburg, printed these remarks by Eppler in edition number 29. Editions 26 and 27 did not appear because the state press office raised objections to several planned articles. The Eppler article was printed as planned, it was learned on Monday.

An announcement in DIE KIRCHE states that, to make up for the two missed editions a double edition will be published at the beginning of October and at the beginning of November. Also, some editions and articles in other GDR church media, which were to have dealt with church assembly stories and social renewal, did not appear because of objections from the state press office. The leadership of the Evangelical Church is still trying to have an explanatory talk with the Council of Ministers, which is responsible for the press office, in order to develop an acceptable formula for reporting in the GDR church media. [passage omitted]

Grosz, Spadolini on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1907083888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Giovanni Spadolini, the highly respected president of the Italian Senate, is having talks in Budapest. I was able to follow his program today. He met Istvan Stadinger, speaker of the National Assembly; Matyas Szuros, Central Committee secretary; and Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister. However, he found the discussions with Karoly Grosz the most exciting. I know this because I joined the Italian journalists whom Spadolini briefed in detail as soon as he left the Hungarian premier's study.

Karoly Grosz and Spadolini concentrated mainly on two topics. One of these was the relations between the state and the churches and the other was the problems connected with national minorities. In connection with the latter, Karoly Grosz informed his guest that the Hungarian Government intends to have the National Assembly approve a national minority law. He also expressed appreciation for the national minority law in force in Italy, which he said he regarded as very modern and European.

Spadolini asked the Hungarian premier what he had discussed with Ceausescu in Warsaw. Well, according to Spadolini, Karoly Grosz did not attribute particular significance to the brief meeting but stressed that at the Warsaw Treaty summit the idea of creating a joint commission for dealing with nationality rights had emerged and the Romanian leader had not specifically objected to this.

According to the briefing he gave, Spadolini raised the question of Soviet troop withdrawals during the talks. Karoly Grosz told Spadolini the following: Contrary to the allegations of the Italian press, the Soviet forces are in Hungary not within the framework of a special agreement but as representatives of the Warsaw Treaty. According to the Hungarian view, the very much desired disarmament measures should be comprehensive; in other words, the reduction in Soviet forces would be accompanied by a reduction in the Hungarian Army as well. However, this cannot be isolated from the general European disarmament process.

At any rate, in replying to further questions by the Italian guest, Karoly Grosz acknowledged that there is truth in the earlier reports concerning Soviet troop withdrawals from Hungary. By the way, Karoly Grosz expressed Hungary's willingness to host a new Soviet-American summit, with whomever should be the U.S. President at the time.

MTI Previews Premier Grosz' Visit to U.S.

LD1701194580 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Washington, July 17 (MTI)—The United States is looking forward to Karoly Grosz's visit, scheduled to start on Tuesday, with interest. The HSWP CC general secretary and prime minister will have a particularly rich programme including an official working visit in the second half of the tour. Karoly Grosz is to hold talks with Ronald Reagan, president of the United States, who will give a working lunch in honour of his guest. Karoly Grosz is to meet George Bush, vice-president, George Shultz, secretary of state, James Baker, secretary of the treasury, and William Verity, secretary of commerce, and hold talks with members of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Hungarian prime minister is to meet senior representatives of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the U.S. capital.

Hungary and the United States have never held such high-level and comprehensive talks since they established diplomatic relations. On the eve of the visit both sides hold that in the recent period bilateral relations have developed in a satisfactory way, and there are no debated issues and tension-generating factors between the two states. At the same time both sides see a possibility for expanding relations, first of all in the economic field.

Before his official talks in Washington, Karoly Grosz is to visit some important economic and financial centres of the United States, and meet representatives of large enterprises and banks. The talks are aimed at calling attention to the possibilities of developing economic cooperation and the plans of the government, and obtaining information on the U.S. evaluation of the world economic situation and the perspectives of cooperation. The members of the prime minister's party are to discuss with their U.S. counterparts the issues directly related to the expansion of cooperation. The talks may pave the way for more comprehensive cooperation, first of all the expansion of investments and the establishment of joint ventures.

Karoly Grosz is to visit Chicago, Sacramento, San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York. During his stay in the latter city Karoly Grosz is to have an interesting and important meeting with the prominent representatives of the U.S. citizens of Hungarian origin, and the leaders of their organizations.

The Hungarian prime minister will most probably meet Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts and presidential candidate of the Democratic Party.

Following the U.S. tour Karoly Grosz is to pay a brief visit to Canada, and meet Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and representatives of the Canadian business life.

Premier Grosz, Delegation Leave for U.S.

LD1907082588 Budapest MTI in English 0723 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, left for an official visit to the United States of

America on Tuesday at the invitation of the U.S. Government. Karoly Grosz is accompanied by Ilona Tatai, member of the HSWP Political Committee, deputy president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and general manager of the Tauru company, Laszlo Kapolyi, government commissioner of the Council of Ministers, State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, and Laszlo Kovacs deputy foreign minister. Vencel Hazi, ambassador of Hungary to the United States, is to join the delegation in the United States.

Organization Formed To Monitor Market

LD1807132188 Budapest MTI in English 1215 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 18, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In a move to promote the development of a uniform domestic market, the government has formed an organization to scrutinize market processes.

Relying on the existing National General Inspectorate of Commerce and Trade Inspectorates operating under the auspices of local councils, it has formed the National Commercial and Market Inspectorate.

With funds from the state budget, it will have nationwide jurisdiction, and its head appointed by the minister of trade. Its staff is to be between 40 and 45.

The inspectorate is expected to provide uniform trade supervision. Previously, several organizations and authorities scrutinized commercial deals and services in Hungary, frequently by different standards and with many overlaps.

The jurisdiction of the nationwide inspectorate extends to ensure there are no attempts to restrict business competition and abuse of business superiority.

Its routine control jobs include keeping an eye on the compliance to rules in tenders, on the management of central stocks and state reserves well as on the interests and complaints of customers and the quality and price of goods.

Forint To Be Devalued 6 Percent on 19 July

LD1807164988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] From tomorrow, the forint will be devalued by 6 percent compared with convertible currencies.

According to a communique issued by the national bank on this subject, the reason for the amendment to the exchange rate is partly to increase the interest of enterprises in exports, and also to stabilize the present level of imports.

At the same time as the devaluation of the forint, the tourist allowance will be 20,200 forints for 3 years. The allowance for transportation costs has been adjusted to 13,800 forints. Hungarians travelling abroad on private passports must still show foreign means of payment equivalent to the value of 3,000 forints, when crossing the border.

The forint was last devalued in November last year, at that time by 5 percent.

Berecz on 23 Jun Central Committee Session

AU1507112188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 88 p 5

[Interview with Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, by Laszlo Rozsa: "Interview With Janos Berecz on the Central Committee Decisions of 23 June"—date and place not given]

[Text] The newly formed Central Committee held its first meeting on 23 June. Television viewers and radio listeners have already received short reports on the meeting from Janos Berecz's interview. NEPSZABADSAG has now asked for answers that better describe the circumstances, the background, and the situation, answers to questions on issues that were on the agenda of the meeting.

[Rozsa] You submitted reports on two issues that were on the agenda of the 23 June meeting. I deliberately refrain from asking you about the content of the Central Committee plan of tasks because one can read about them in the documents. However, it would be more important to know what this report concluded about the situation that emerged following the party conference. Has the debate focused on these conclusions?

[Berecz] The Central Committee has already discussed the lessons of the party conference and the tasks connected with the position of the party conference. We concluded that it is not our task to evaluate a national party conference; our task is to implement the position of this conference. However, we must evaluate the way this conference saw Hungary's situation, the international relations, and our social and economic problems. Starting from this evaluation, we formulated the tasks and requirements ahead of us in our current situation. It has been stated in this evaluation that the renewed party leadership cannot be satisfied with our success in temporarily reversing the process of losing confidence, but there is need for a complete use of the political capital for development created by the party conference.

We also took into consideration the fact that we have to achieve the necessary changes in the most complex situation in years, a situation full of conflicts. In other words, new contradictions will emerge while we are implementing the reforms. We also agreed that we could not back down: Only comprehensive, consistent, and radical reforms can create the conditions that will enable us to extricate ourselves from our present difficulties. The current situation is that, on the one hand, we have to implement earlier decisions, the development program of July 1987 and the government program; on the other hand, this should go hand in hand with the political reforms. It is essential that we deal with these two requirements jointly.

[Rozsa] The four points on the agenda, namely the 2-year work program of the Central Committee, creating a new system of information and making it open, the proposals on future elections, and the proposals on personnel issues make up a considerable program package in themselves. Does the fact that decisions were made on all these at the recent Central Committee session show the desire to make up for the delays and to accelerate the political activity?

[Berecz] We also think that the party conference placed great responsibilities on the Central Committee. In a short time, the Central Committee will have to put major issues on its agenda and solve them within a reasonable time. I regard this more as a requirement deriving from the current situation. As I have already said, each task deriving from the program of social and economic stabilization and development and from the position of the party conference requires tremendous efforts. While we are implementing earlier decisions, we will also modernize the party, the state, our entire political system, and almost every important area of our political activity. In the meantime, we should also not forget that the accumulation of tasks can always lead to the danger of confusions in priority because things seem to be too complicated or because they neutralize each other. However, time and our situation are pressing us.

[Rozsa] In connection with this, you have already mentioned in your earlier statements that this has been a very lively Central Committee session, with 13 speakers taking the floor on the first point of the agenda alone. Can I ask you whether the Central Committee adopted everything unanimously this time, too, or the issues were decided on majority vote?

[Berecz] The Central Committee adopted the plan of tasks unanimously but added that this plan should be modified on the basis of various observations and proposals. On the issue of the leadership's openness, we submitted alternative proposals to the Central Committee on three issues. Therefore, if, let us say, 90 percent of the members voted for the first proposal, the remaining 10 percent of different votes were not counter votes, but a sign that these members favored the more radical alternative. The Central Committee adopted the proposal on our election system unanimously but noted that the PPF should decide in this matter. Concerning personnel issues, however, there were often five or six votes against, or even abstentions. Those who abstained said that they did not know the person in question well enough and did not know whether he was suitable for the proposed post, and therefore they could not support him.

[Rozsa] Let us deal a little more with the supply of information. I think that the party members are keenly following whether the current anomaly in connection with the Politburo and Central Committee sessions and the political issues under consideration will cease to exist, namely that foreigners often learned about important party decisions earlier than the party members or the country's population, at least from official channels.

Yes, after the television report, I also received various telephone calls asking me why I did not read the entire list of names. In connection with this, all I can say is that openness of the Central Committee activity is now the most important thing for us. This means full publicity in cases when important issues are discussed, issues that affect greater and smaller communities alike. In such cases, the correct way to act is to have NEPSZABADSAG publish the session's agenda, the issues to be debated, and the report in advance, but, of course, not verbatim because the Central Committee members could regard this as harmful, since this practice would precede the information they themselves would present; they could, however, hold preliminary consultations with party members and nonparty members on individual issues. One can imagine a multilevel system of information about the Central Committee sessions. However, a communique which sums up the event is necessary and will continue to be published. Various oral and written additions can then be made to this communique. We think that we need a spokesman to provide these additions. For the time being, we call this person a spokesman coordinator and his task is to ask the speaker who submitted the report on a given subject and the Central Committee members who can provide more information about a given subject to inform the public about their support for the decision in question and about their possible reservations. As for personnel issues, almost nothing remains a secret in this country, and this is understandable because everyone is interested in knowing who will take up what position.

[Rozsa] We will talk about personnel issues later, but now....

[Berecz] I would like to continue the previous line of thought. Since we are striving for full publicity, we want to inform the public before anyone else, and we will be the first to inform the public about Central Committee sessions. As for the Politburo, its work cannot be as open as that of the Central Committee, because the Politburo activity is subordinated to the Central Committee. The members of this body must also express their opinion primarily in the Central Committee. If the Politburo were as open as the Central Committee, it would again take over the role of the Central Committee. However, it is necessary to provide an objective and factual report on its activity.

[Rozsa] Thus, the Politburo cannot run ahead of the Central Committee in making decisions?

[Berecz] The recent party conference criticized precisely the fact that the Politburo, rather than primarily the Central Committee, was the workshop of policy making. But the Politburo is totally subordinated to the Central Committee.

[Rozsa] In other words, sometimes the Central Committee was confronted with a fait accompli....

[Berecz] Yes, because, as I have already said, it was the Politburo that essentially determined party policy.

[Rozsa] Another question derives from the above, namely, on the basis of the recent Central Committee session, what issues do you intend to discuss during a preliminary exchange of views with the party members, and what issues will you propose for possible public debate? Can a public debate have an institutional character at all?

[Berecz] We decided to set up a working committee to study the formulation of norms and regulations concerning public debates and party debates. I will add, however, that while we should not regulate such a debate with norms in advance, we must stipulate some regulations. In my opinion, mostly issues connected with our legislation, like the modification of our electoral law, will lead to public debates. The Central Committee proposes that the PPF organize the public debate on this issue. The next Central Committee session will deal with the draft law on the freedom of assembly and association, and the exercise of this right. Here too, we think it is proper that the PPF, and not the party, submit this draft for public debate. I think that very important elements of the committee dealing with the experiences of our last 30 years should be analyzed within the party, or more broadly, by scientific circles. I cannot imagine any other way than a debate within the party for some issues of the work committee dealing with the organizational regulations of the party, like the system of nominations and election within the party or the problems of democratic centralism. The last time the Central Committee dealt with the basic organizations was back at the beginning of the seventies. Since then, there has been almost no discussion about them. Now, we would formulate the place, role, and obligations of the basic party organizations, and we will submit this to each and every basic organization for their opinion, and only after this will the Central Committee discuss the issue. Formulating the party's economic strategy is also inconceivable without a party debate.

[Rozsa] Several speakers at the party conference mentioned the fact that the party apparatus had often "overcome" the elected body. In other words, the elected body was faced with a fait accompli, and all it had to do was to approve the decision. What are the guarantees that things will change in the future? To what extent did the Central Committee discuss this issue?

[Berecz] It was mentioned at the meeting that the relationship between leading organs of the party and the party apparatus is one of the key issues of party democracy. I also mentioned the fact that the apparatus had often become an organization of power and exercised the functions of a leading body. This practice should be completely eliminated. To do this, on the one hand, we will formulate the obligations of the apparatus, and on the other, we will have to reorganize the apparatus of the Central Committee and of the county committees so that their tasks do not duplicate the tasks on the institutions belonging to state bodies.

The organizational framework of the Central Committee apparatus should be different from that of the government and of the state institutions. Previously, every ministry needed an almost similar department in the Central Committee. Now, these departments must be replaced by staff members of the Central Committee and of the Politburo, with people who know that they do not embody power but make it possible for the elected bodies to carry out high-level activity.

[Rozsa] This is a duty, but, I think, not in a clerical sense.

[Berecz] If a party member loses his revolutionary thinking, no matter where he works, he will be a clerk at the most. This is inadmissible in the apparatus. We need people who will also fight for their opinions, if necessary. Then, a member of the elected body will also be unable to claim that he did not think that way; he only voted, and did not even interfere. According to our present formulation, everyone bears personal responsibility for collective decisions.

We intend to implement the position of the party conference in this respect: The MSZMP should work as a real political party, as a movement, and under democratic internal conditions, conditions that simultaneously enable the party members' participation in shaping policy and the patient handling and integration of debates and differences of views. All these can contribute to the basis of a new type of party unity. I would like to add, however, that the apparatus has carried out a considerable amount of work so far, and its members' readiness for sacrifices is unquestionable. We must repel the unjustified and baseless attacks against them. The best way of doing this is, of course, to clarify the place and role of this apparatus, and to elaborate its work methods as a movement.

[Rozsa] The quick polls on the opinions of party members and of the country at large were quite favorably received during the party conference. Will this become a regular practice in the future, and will the results be published?

[Berecz] Some time ago, we proposed to the government to transform the mass communication research center into a public opinion research institute, and to also measure the public's reactions to various issues, and not only the effects of the means of mass communication. What you have mentioned before already represents progress in this direction. However, we think that this in itself is not enough, and we intend to establish another public opinion research center at the Political College, a center which will examine primarily the party members' opinions. But this center would also deal with general opinion polls as a scientific control, and would compare its results with data gathered by the other institute.

[Rozsa] It has already been mentioned that, in the future, the party members and the population will know much more about the speeches and debates at Central Committee sessions. In the past, it was simply impossible to trace the activity of a Central Committee member within this body and find out whether he deserved to be elected there. Under the current political conditions, such a body can hardly have constantly silent members, or members who only approve things. Otherwise, one can neither follow the making of decisions nor convincingly identify with them.

[Berecz] There are two sides to this issue. For the time being, we do not intend to provide detailed and regular information on Central Committee sessions. Several Central Committee members spoke in favor of maintaining the workshop atmosphere of the body's internal activity in order to avoid a situation in which some members would speak only for the "audience." But, following the sessions, the Central Committee members can speak in their own personal way, either about the debate or the decision. We conclude that publicity means not only a communique or a spokesman's statement, but also the requirement that the Central Committee members should include their own personality, conviction, opinions, and arguments in the Central Committee position. Therefore, a personal political attitude is required not only from a few leading politicians; all the 108 Central Committee members should represent the party policy and themselves, together with their own personalities and opinions.

[Rozsa] There is another question to which public opinion is keenly expecting an answer. Will we know about it in the future if a leading party or state official commits a serious mistake or even violates the law? It has always shocked the public when such cases are hushed up or suppressed. In other words, will the principle of the equal judgment of citizens also apply to the supply of information?

[Berecz] I do not recall any case of hushing up things in my current active period, but I do recall cases of suppressing things. A justified moral requirement on the part of the public is that, irrespective of any function, party affiliation, or sex, every case of public morality should be dealt with in accordance with its own weight and made public. From this point of view, there can be no difference among citizens on the basis of their functions. I am convinced that we will be quite open in this respect. Therefore, the Central Committee advised the Central Control Committee to determine the norms and requirements of its own publicity. I think that this issue must receive full publicity within the party and, in examining acts that are against the law, the party must face public opinion and expose these actions.

[Rozsa] I do not know how sensitive my next question is, but, from the statements made by comrades Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers, we have been able to draw the conclusion that the Central Committee is taking into consideration the emergence of groupings holding different opinions within this body and, according to the original Leninist concepts, there is nothing irregular in this. What is the Central Committee's opinion about this now?

The party conference also discussed the need to include the concept of freedom in developing platforms into the party conference position. Then, we asked the party conference not to stick to this idea because here we are talking about a very important theoretical, ideological, and political issue, one that first needs serious examination. We received promises at the recent Central Committee meeting that all aspects of this issue will be dealt with over the next 2 years. Now, I will tell you this much. First of all, there have always been groups with various opinions. Interestingly, I see that, in the case of the debates, some people are surprised and claim that there is a "lack of total unity." If there is unity without debates, some people protest and wonder whether the Central Committee is made up of people who have no opinions. Therefore, various individual opinions exist today. As for the issue of interpreting the freedom to develop platforms, and whether we can expect the appearance of platforms or whether it is our duty to accept them—all this is still waiting to be clarified. My opinion is that there are various groups with differing opinions, and they can and should appear at Central Committee meetings so that counter proposals can be made to proposals by the Politburo or some secretary, but I consider it extremely important that a unified platform, rather than the freedom to develop platforms, should be implemented.

[Rozsa] Therefore, the Central Committee considers this to be a natural issue, but will still express its principled position at the party congress?

[Berecz] Yes, we will prepare this position and, most likely, will submit it to the congress.

[Rozsa] Since the position on elections and the party proposals have been put on the agenda, I would like to ask a related question. In view of developments in our current economic and political situation, does the party accept the risks involved with further basic openness concerning elections, as well as the risks involved with the law on associations and partnerships? What do you personally feel the political risks are in such further opening?

[Berecz] The essence of the position held at the party conference is that economic activity is the key issue of the future. However, this will inevitably require flexible, better, and more creative social and political institutions to support the Hungarian economy in improving its effectiveness. If we take this seriously, I can say that we will not only accept but also actually encourage social self-organization and readiness for initiatives. We will also try to ensure the best opportunities for these initiatives to be implemented. We will encourage our party members not only to learn how to work in a party environment, but also to win over with conviction and arguments the various organizations, groups, and groupings to support the party's policy. Therefore, we consider it a fundamental requirement to further develop the democratic system of elections, assembly, or association. We know that this is the right way. At first glance it appears easier to give orders. However, this inevitably hinders the emergence of creative energies. A decision-making process based on the democratic exchange of views releases such energies.

[Rozsa] Is there not a contradiction in the fact that, on the one hand, the party says that we have to overcome an economically difficult, and even critical, period while at the same time by saying this, it removes barriers, and many people justifiably or not, are afraid of this?

[Berecz] If we speak completely openly about our situation, our efforts, and our goals, then, in my opinion, we will be able to count on further understanding in situations that are even more difficult than the current one. In this way, the people feel that they are participating in the country's affairs and in the efforts to extricate the country from the current difficult situation. I think that the further democratization of the election law and the creation of a law on associations will release the energy for this. It would be riskier to halting or reversing the democratic process.

[Rozsa] My last question is: What principles have you used and will you use in deciding personnel issues? Can we expect further basic personnel changes this year?

[Berecz] The Central Committee has decided on and made proposals regarding very important personnel issues. You can read the entire list in today's newspapers. These are primarily the result of decisions by the party conference, and also part of the process of leadership renewal in all areas. As Comrade Grosz has said, I think that he would like to conclude the reorganization of and personnel changes in the government this year. There are a few issues that still need to be decided. I think that we can also expect further reorganization and changes in the Central Committee apparatus, and the process leading to a complete renewal of the leadership by the next party congress will also begin in many counties. Therefore, there have been and will be personnel changes. We must strive to make sure that these changes do not happen suddenly and unexpectedly, but we should always take the necessary steps.

Further Reportage on MSZMP CC July Session

Economic Issues Discussed

AU1507171588 Budapest MTI in English 1454 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 13/07/1988—Responding to the questions related to the written report and the complementary address the secretary of the Central Committee said, among others: Due to the introduction of the world passport the travel related hard currency expenses increased by 350 per cent, what is at least 100 million USD. The interests on the foreign credits also increased and finally the balance of payments was hit by the substantial differences of the commodity and financial transactions. During the first five months of the year the Hungarian economy suffered no loss in terms of trade in the non-rouble accounted markets. There is a hope, that the planned 500 million USD balance of payment deficit will not be exceeded this year.

The secretary of the Central Committee expounded : By the influx of foreign operating capital the Hungarian economy is not becoming more vulnerable, on the contrary this strengthens the links to the division of labour. Miklos Nemeth thinks that the simultaneous reduction of the external and internal financial imbalances is not an irrealistic target, but only the presence of very essential conditions would make possible the replacement of the strict import economy by a more liberal one.

According to the secretary of the Central Committee the system of CMEA connections has to be reviewed because in the present system of conditions and practice of economy control the CMEA mechanism carries severe deficiencies.

In the debate following the responses all contributing CC members supported the alternative "A", pointing out that this meets those ideas which aim the improvement of the present serious economic situation and the achievement of a radical turn in the economy. The contributors highlighted that this alternative creates further economic difficulties and social tensions, but even with that this seems to be the only purposeful alternative to achieve stabilization and advancement. Ivan T. Berend pointed out that the country is several years late in determining radical changes, Janos Perenyi emphasized that to take such decisions political intention and will is needed.

In the debate it was widely discussed what hampered so far the indispensable turn in the economy. Most of the contributors find the reasons to be linked with the lack of structural change, the inefficient disinvestment of different fields and as Gyorgy Jurcsak said, in halfhearted and erroneous measures, the slower than needed personal changes at medium and lower levels.

Tamas Beck pointed out that the better structure could not only be achieved by this or that part of the manufacturing, but much more by improving the technical and operating standards. Pal Tetenyi highlighted the need for structural changes based on advanced techniques and expressed concern over the backwardly infrastructure. According to Jozsef Dudla it is basically important that the companies start to work according to market requirements. Albert Antaloczy considers that for the accomplishment of the structural change a control with new approach and mechanism is needed. Janos Perenyi sees the advanced, flexible and renewed professional training as a precondition of the structural change.

In the debate several speakers touched the need for liberalizing imports which would not only mean making the imports more rational but could contribute to exports. On the foreign economy subjects it was told that more efficient measures are needed for the involvement of foreign operating capital. Laszlo Somogyi pressed for priority in giving credits and subsidies related to the achievement of operating capital involvement and that the domestic infrastructure for the working of foreign joint ventures should be created. Several members of the Central Committee discussed the calculated political, economic and social tensions of the radical economic change. These include temporary production halt, inflation, declining living standards. They voiced their convictions that these tensions have to be faced for the sake of advancement. Several speakers urged a social policy, 'social umbrella', which appears in the change of concept and in several budgetary resources.

In the afternoon a number of contributors took a stand for the 'A' version. Laszlo Marothy pointed out that the 'A' version may specify the tasks for a longer period of time. Bela Katona called upon the planners to strive for elaborating a comprehensive conception. Isvan Szlameniczky held it necessary for the 'A' version to envisage the simultaneous use of economic and social means.

Ferenc Bartha said that the external conditions make it doubtful whether the 'A' version can be implemented. According to Frigyes Berecz, the realistic line would be a mixture of the two versions.

Since the economic processes of this year cannot yet be seen in their entirety and the long-term conceptions have not yet been worked out, Sandor Nagy did not find it expedient to opt for any version. His standpoint was supported by Laszlo Kovacs.

Mrs Fodor Katalin Birges said that the versions put forward to the Central Committee were financial policy concepts rather than real guidelines for development. Some contributors addressed the issues of distribution, incomes and wages, and social-welfare problems. Discussing the necessity that the three 'income-holders', namely the population, the state budget and the enterprises, should share in public burdens proportionately, Sandor Nagy pointed out that while the ideas related to the real incomes and real earnings are realized by and large, investments exceed the target and the central budget shows a greater deficit than planned. Together with other contributors, Sandor Nagy laid emphasis on easing the burdens of the population. Many stressed the need of limiting inflation, elaborating a set of institutional means to reduce the burdens of unemployment, and preparing a wage reform.

Janos Berecz, who chaired the session in the afternoon, closed the debate after 21 contributions. As reported earlier, the session of the Central Committee is to continue on Thursday [14 July] with the debate on the experiences in the development of the national economy in the first half of the year, the proposal for the directions of next year's development, and the oral supplement. So far four CC members have indicated their intention to contribute to the debate.

Nemeth Speech Reported

AU1807154188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jul 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on speech by MSZMP Politburo Member and Central Committee secretary Miklos Nemeth at the Central Committee session in Budapest on 13 July: "Miklos Nemeth Submits Report"]

[Text] "We have reached an important stage in implementing the Central Committee program of economic development decided in July 1987 and the Government's work program of economic stabilization"—Miklos Nemeth began his speech. "Our situation requires a review of the current development of our people's economy, an analysis of the processes involved, and—based on all these things—an evaluation of the possible directions of economic development. The preliminary report of the Politburo sums up the lessons of the analysis and outlines the alternative trends of our future economic activity. We have supplied a supplement to this report to enable the Central Committee members to learn about this year's economic processes as reflected in statistics too, and draw the necessary conclusions on the basis of a thorough analysis of the relations between these processes and on the basis of a comprehensive debate. "The importance of the issue and its prospective significance require us to begin involving the society and people who are ready to act and think together in the activity of the Central Committee. Therefore, we published the summary of this report and of its supplement in the NEPSZABADSAG and we will also publish a summary of today's debate to inform the general public.

"Why do we do this? We think that, by giving publicity to our work, we can contribute to a situation in which our society will judge our economic situation more thoroughly and carefully and the various concepts will also come closer to each other. It is our conviction that strengthening publicity is the condition for efficient action. Therefore, our meeting today represents a considerable step toward strengthening the publicity of economic policy decisions and broadening the democracy of the decisionmaking process."

Miklos Nemeth then analyzed the current situation of our people's economy. He concluded that, in many respects, the situation is critical. "Our resources are scarce, our reserves have been exhausted, and excessive regulations and exaggerated centralization deriving from economic constraint hinder the development of ventures. We are unable to join the main international development trends with our current production structure."

Our Performance Is Inadequate [subhead]

"The foreign financial balance has for years been a critical point of the Hungarian economy. We have to annually pay back interest and installments on our debts worth about 60-70 percent of our exports accounted in convertible currency. We cannot do this without taking additional foreign credits. Although our foreign trade relations have been increasing, this has not led to the international integration of the Hungarian economy. In spite of their high proportion of exports and imports, Hungarian enterprises have not, or have only adjusted very little to the world economy as a whole. There is little interest in this direction on the part of the Hungarian enterprises, and, under current conditions, foreign partners are reluctant to introduce working capital in Hungary.

"There is an increasing gap between the international and domestic technological development, and our obsolete production structure is causing us to lose ground on foreign markets. Our economic performance is insufficient to maintain the necessary level of our foreign balance.

"Other problems inherent in our economic structure have also increased: anarchy in our infrastructure, a decrease in the capacity of our food production to accumulate hard currency, exaggerated weight given to our basic material and energy producing branches compared to our possibilities, and, from another viewpoint, a lack of small and medium-sized enterprises. There are very few sectors in the Hungarian economy today that simultaneously meet the efficiency, balance, and market requirements. With one or two exceptions, central development programs did not bring proper results and the market-oriented structural changes were not powerful enough either"—the speaker pointed out.

Miklos Nemeth then spoke about the disintegration that can be seen in the relations between production and marketing. Because of an exaggerated development of some production sectors, loosening of production and marketing relations based on mutual interest and trust, and the problems of pricing and interests, internal cooperation and contractual discipline have not reached the desirable and possible level.

Miklos Nemeth mentioned here the fact that structural and efficiency problems also exist in distribution. Most of our exports and production can be maintained only by means of an unhealthy budget centralization and redistribution and a broad system of subsidies. Enterprise incomes do not reflect actual performance. Under the conditions of an underdeveloped market competition, a wide range of enterprises have great opportunities of accumulating inflationary incomes. Credits play an insufficient role in the enterprises' operation and development; about half of the enterprises have no connection at all with the sphere of credits.

In connection with the standard of living of the population, Miklos Nemeth pointed out that, due to constantly increasing performance requirements, the standard of living has been stagnating for quite some time, and this means a deterioration in the case of some strata of the society, and only a slight improvement in the case of other strata. The problem is aggravated by the fact that, due to the rigidity of the production structure and the deterioration in the terms of trade, the current economic performance does not support even the present standard of living.
ifferences between the income and consumption of the population, Karoly Nemeth said the following: "According to recently published statistics, the income of 6 percent of the population was lower than the subsistence level in 1987. We have no exact statistics on the income of the other extreme, the richest strata of the population, but we know from experience that there has been a considerable increase in the higher-than-average differences too. Thus, polarization in society has increased. We all know that, on the one hand, these problems derive from the fact that this differentiation is the result of other factors, rather than a reflection of performance differences which are socially and economically useful. The families' demographic composition, their financial situation, and making use of monopolistic or shortage situations are such factors. On the other hand, problems also derive from the fact that our social welfare system is not differentiated properly enough on the basis of actual differences among the strata of the population, and thus, it is not effective enough in caring for the most needy members of the society."

Overregulated Management [subhead]

Speaking about the other problems facing our economy, Karoly Nemeth concluded that our economic management system was overregulated and regulations substituted for market laws. The enterprises have to maneuver through the limitations imposed by simultaneous regulations that often contradict each other, and, on top of everything, we often modify these conditions quite unexpectedly. All this makes the enterprises uncertain and forces them to adjust to the prevailing regulations and the existing exceptions, rather than to the real market conditions. This situation also hinders the enterprise, the population, and foreign investors who constantly look forward, and increases the enterprises' risks; thus, this situation has a negative effect on possible changes, too.

"One must conclude"—Karoly Nemeth said—"that, with the exception of 1956, there has been no other year like 1985 and 1986 in our economic history after liberation, years when regression occurred in three essential areas simultaneously: in the balance, efficiency, and growth of our economy. All this led to serious consequences. Our stock of debts to capitalist countries doubled in 3 years, efficiency decreased, and, considering the deterioration in terms of trade, the income of the people's economy dropped too. More favorable signs emerged in 1987, but these only slowed down the deterioration and did not reverse the negative trends."

The report drew the following lessons from these failures: We can only rely on a realistic evaluation of objective foreign and domestic conditions in shaping our economic policy; we should prepare for the uncertainties deriving from frequent changes by working out adequate alternatives and reserves for action, because it is impossible to plan in one direction only in the present rapidly changing world. We should implement the performance requirements more consistently and, even if painful, we should also be more consistent in accepting subsequent economic tensions and social conflicts.

The tax reform that has been in force since the beginning of this year and the related considerable price changes have led to new conditions for economic units and the entire population, too. In addition, we must admit that, in many areas, the activity of preparation and analysis could rely only on presumptions since new elements have joined our system of economic management, elements that have never been used before. Judging all these facts, we can say that, as a whole, economic performance for the first 6 months of the current year has been acceptable.

The speaker, then said the following: "The experiences of the first half of the current year do not question the accuracy of the goals ahead and the possibility of their implementation, but, as we have already mentioned in the report, tensions have further increased in some areas. The government has already taken several measures to eliminate these tensions, but these measures have not been sufficient to avoid danger, and thus, further effective measures are necessary, also measures that we have not planned before.

"On the basis of the evaluation of the past and present situation, it is obvious that we have not yet found the most expedient ways of implementing the program of stabilization and development needed for a radical change. The government program of stabilization correctly outlined the directions of advancement, but it turned out that the weight and 'critical mass' of the problems and the subsequent measures needed for real change were greater than originally predicted. We must now clarify the economic and social policy contents of the urgent changes ahead and, simultaneously, we must prepare society for the necessary changes as well as for the tensions inherent in necessary measures. We must win over the understanding of the society and the support of its active strata for the urgent changes. We start from the premises that we have no other real choice but to institute urgent changes in our economic policy and in our economy, because a continuation of the present practice would lead to a deadlock."

Need for a Change! [subhead]

"Where would the continuation of our current economic policy lead?"—Miklos Nemeth asked. "Continuation of this policy would increase the processes that endanger the implementation of the major goals of the people's economy for 1988 and would again increase the need to interfere by administrative and other bureaucratic means. A continued restrictive economic policy burdened by further bureaucracy would, in the long run, irrevocably reduce our scope and the development of our economy would lose contact with the world economic trends."

"A forced expansion of central redistribution would also be unable to develop the social and welfare policy and the human and economic infrastructure.

"A continuation of the current deficiencies in our employment policy would force the working strata of the population to try to supplement their income by further sacrificing their leisure time, and thus, a healthy life style, professional knowledge, and the value of the main working hours would further deteriorate, and so would the cultural, family, and moral values, too. All these would destroy the fragile confidence that has somewhat strengthened in the wake of the party conference, make the extremely important new consensus impossible, and totally upset the economic and social conditions.

"Therefore, we need a change! The essence of this change is that we should make both our economy and society really open. We should work out multilateral and intensive international relations in the division of labor. Only this way will we be able to strengthen the driving force of restructuring and eliminate the limitations that provide exaggerated protection for the economy. At the same time, we should provide scope and opportunities for a considerable increase in performance, and this should even be forced by means of economic management and the market. We must create a situation in which only enterprises with a competitive performance—both large and small enterprises—can have opportunities for development. To achieve this, we must reduce the burdens of the budget, primarily the support given to inefficient production, so that we could reduce the extent of the withdrawal of funds and the centralization of incomes."

Double Task [subhead]

"For a performance-oriented economic policy that opens up to the outside world, we have to work out a social policy that fulfills a double task. On the one hand, it should encourage performance by developing the economic democracy, reorganizing the workers internal motivation into a performance-oriented one, and by making society thoroughly recognize performance as a basic interest. On the other hand, we must conduct a social policy and create a welfare network which are capable of caring for people in a disadvantageous situation and the needy. We should increase the scope and power of social welfare by reorganizing the division of labor between the large-scale welfare systems and local and individual social welfare. In addition to state support, by strengthening solidarity within society, we must also rely in our social work on the power and initiatives of public organizations, smaller communities, churches, associations, enterprise collectives, and, of course, on the power of families.

"In our economic policy goals, we should now really focus on adjustment to the world economy, structural reorganization, and on the acceleration of our technological development. Our successful adjustment to the main trends of international technical and technological development is an indispensable requirement. In order to achieve this, we must use adequate means which simultaneously provide considerable steps toward the establishment of a socialist market economy. Only this can be the basis of development.

"Obviously, these changes should take into consideration our realistic limitations. Our foreign debts cannot increase to a level higher than is recognized as justified by the international financial organizations or to a level that would lead to impossibly high repayment obligations in the first years of the nineties. Nor can we continue the policy of radically reducing the standard of living, a policy that makes society oppose this program, and consequently, our entire policy."

What Are the Major Requirements? [subhead]

"It follows from all this that we cannot stress any particular element of our economic policy to an extent that would endanger either one of our two main goals: restructuring and the improvement of our economic balance. On the other hand, we must also take into consideration our inevitable economic and social limitations.

"An economic policy that focuses on restructuring and creates the conditions of social and economic development, one that simultaneously maintains an adequate economic balance, requires a complex system of instruments made up of many elements. Such a policy should be formulated in a way that influences the creation of a market economy, with elements that represent the building blocks for regulating market relations."

Miklos Nemeth listed the following as major requirements:

—Working out real goods, money, capital, and manpower markets; the appearance of competition between goods and capitalist imports and the expansion of venture and market forms, in addition to the expansion of the sphere of domestic entrepreneurs and of their conditions of competition;

—Reorganizing the enterprises' economic conditions in such a way as to make sure that these enterprises are free to use various factors of production without unnecessary restrictions;

—Working out an economic environment by means of the joint application of strict monetary and fiscal policy, an environment that generates stronger interest and forces the enterprises to make use of the available resources more efficiently;

—Reorganizing the state's economic role in such a way that—in the midst of direct management of community sectors and, indirectly, by using legal and economic regulations—it makes sure that the competitive sphere operates properly. This requires changes both in the government's distribution of labor and organizational structure and in the nature of its activity.

Miklos Nemeth then stressed the following: "We can hope for success if we apply each of the aforementioned elements in a coordinated way. Favoring one or another element would inevitably lead to disturbances and failure.

"We must be aware that both alternative proposals aimed at implementing our economic policy will bring serious social tensions to the surface. The extent of the expected conflicts might be greater than the ones our political and economic means have been able to deal with so far. Therefore, it is particularly important to consider this when we take political and economic actions."

Speaking about the social consequences of our economic policy and about the conditions of our social policy, Miklos Nemeth pointed out that these differ mainly in their extent and their effects. However, we should renew our distribution system by all means. In doing this, we should take steps toward reforming our wage policy and our wage mechanism and we should also modify our social security system. We must work out an orderly system of unemployment benefits. We should work out a network of institutions suitable for revealing and easing the special, and often different problems facing individuals and groups on the periphery of society. We should concentrate our financial means in a way to preserve the real value of social allowances, fully if possible, in the most sensitive and critical areas, and as high as possible, in other areas.

We should pay special attention to the pensioners' situation, and therefore, we should be aware of this in continuing to develop the new pensions system. At the same time, Miklos Nemeth told the Central Committee that, contrary to previous positions, the principles of this new pension system will be presented to the Central Committee only next year, not this year. According to today's evaluation, and also making use of the experiences of a broad public debate, the new pension system will be introduced in 1990 at the soonest. Miklos Nemeth asked the Central Committee to accept this and to modify its previous decision on the matter.

In conclusion, Miklos Nemeth spoke about related political tasks. No matter which way out we might choose, the attempt to break out of the current situation will upset the previously developed balance of interests, because the changes will affect individual strata and groups of the society differently. Different interests have been appearing and seeking opportunities of implementation more firmly than hitherto in our developing political system, and therefore, we are now facing a lot of debate and conflict.

Both alternatives have a common particularity expressed in the fact that the decisions cannot be based on full consensus because there will always be dissatisfied and arguing strata, mainly people who will be unfavorably affected by the decisions in question. Therefore, it would be a serious political mistake to force a general consensus in society, but it would also be a similarly serious mistake if we did not make it quite clear to all of society that the country will be able to break out of its current difficult situation only if it accepts the current conflicts.

Therefore, there is increased importance to the requirement for a consensus within the party to support our economic policy goals. In the society as a whole, however, a realistic goal is to win the support of the majority necessary for the ability to implement these goals. However, it is impossible to ensure the consensus within the party by previous ways and methods. Therefore, we should improve the preparation of decisions by operating working committees and involving a large number of party members. Only substantial debates, productive and new views, and a multitude of ways of implementation can jointly create real consensus in the party.

Concluding his speech, Miklos Nemeth said that the new decisions to develop our political system and increase openness provide new opportunities for the mobilization of society. In connection with next year's plan, this means that the concept, the guidelines, and later the draft plan will take shape in broader, more multifacted, and more lively debates than hitherto.

Nyers on Significance of Session

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[Text] Budapest, July 15 (MTI)—Asked in an exclusive interview granted to the "DAILY NEWS" about the innovation and significance of the July 13-14 session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party CC, Rezso Nyers, a member of the Political Committee of the HSWP, stressed that the new procedure of the CC session could be seen in both its form and contents. One difference was its parliamentary form. The spotlight was turned on the session and it had conducted its business in public, since all the contributions were carried at length by the media. (...)

The changes in content were shown by the fact that the CC set itself the task of conducting a deeper than ever analysis of the economic problems, Nyers said. (...) For the first time in Hungary, the members of the CC were informed in detail, including factual information, about the international financial status of Hungary. (...)

Nyers said the two-day session of the CC was also new because alternatives were raised both in the opening report and in the subsequent debate. The starting point was not the declaration that there was only one truth and one right path and that the proposal was either right or wrong, but instead it started by stating that the numerous political and economic goals should be classed in an order of importance so that none of the social goals should be left inconsidered. In other words a progressive economic policy had to be formed by combining the several factors of the present state.

The debate was open-minded and was marked by the search for solutions. It was not a case of prestige versus criticism, but instead the thinking of an open-minded leadership met the opinion of the CC members who were out to find solutions in the prevailing spirit of openness. It was a conceptual debate, i.e. the topics discussed could not be considered a programme proper. None of us left the hall with the feeling that a definite programme had been accepted. (...)

The question we shall have to answer, probably when wording the programme, is that whether it is possible, from a political point of view, to carry out 'braver' changes in today's Hungary. This alternative would be faster, more radical and would give a boost to the country's economic development following a relatively brief period of conflict. (...)

In the short run the amplification of the so-called social net would be an important topic at issue. We shall have to analyse how the occasional faster restructuring would affect the way unemployment should be handled so as to cause the least damage. The other crucial issue was that a fast restructuring would upset the price system, which in turn, along with a progress towards a more modern market price system and an approach towards the world market prices, would push up the level of prices. The question was what rate of inflation could this society shoulder? This question would be high on the agenda of the next session, along with the system of wages administration.

Further Reports, Comments on Gorbachev Visit

Gorbachev Addressed by Intellectuals

AU1907123888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 88 pp 4-6

[PAP report: "Full Transcript of Mikhail Gorbachev's Meeting With Intellectuals"—in Warsaw, 14 July]

[Excerpts] Bogdan Suchodolski, chairman of the National Cultural Council: Opening this meeting at the Warsaw Royal Castle, I would like to welcome most cordially all participants. [passage omitted]

We all are grateful and we all owe a patriotic debt to the Red Army for liberating us in 1945. But at the time of our liberation we were full of doubts and inner conflicts after we had been told about the fate of millions and millions of Soviet men and women, about the lot of creative people, and about the shrinking opportunities for science. Agitated on this account, we all continued to ask ourselves anxiously and in fear whether socialism really required such enormous sacrifices and whether the existence of socialism had to be paid for in such a way. Now the curtain that hid cruelty and willfulness has been torn aside. Along our road to the future we have now reached a stage that has nothing to hide. Mr General Secretary, I think that if we look at your activities from this viewpoint, we will note a community of our ideas in some important concepts, above all in the concept of new thinking and in the concept of Europe as our common home. [passage omitted]

We need new thinking in all areas of modern civilization, because civilization is experiencing a dramatic conflict between man's great creative powers, which are expected to produce man's great happiness and dignity, and between specific reality in which the achievements of civilization continue to be abused so that they create unrest, disasters, and threats. [passage omitted]

Professor Jan Rychlewski, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Academy's Space Research Committee: [passage omitted] We know very well about the state of our science—about its strength and weaknesses. Its strength is its cadre, which is an enormous achievement of socialism, because such a scientific cadre cannot be produced easily and rapidly. We are also acutely aware of weaknesses. The main weakness is that, brutally speaking, our science possesses cheap manpower, that this manpower possesses poor equipment, and that our science's contacts with society, the state, and the economy leave much to be desired. Our frustration also reaches out beyond reasonable bounds. Are we condemned to perpetually trying to catch up with the main body of the racing team? To laboriously catching up only to drop back again? Is it possible to achieve such miracles as modern electronics and other modern disciplines? They are no miracles, and I am deeply convinced that we can achieve them. [passage omitted]

On behalf of my relatives and friends I would like to thank the 14th CPSU Conference and its delegates present here for its decision to erect in Moscow a monument to victims of repression. My father, a Polish patriot and communist, was one such victim. [passage omitted]

Ryszard Wojna, journalist, Sejm deputy, and member of the Consultative Council attached to the State Council chairman: [passage omitted] The Polish opinion-making communities attach great significance and great hopes to your [M. Gorbachev] Statements, in which you said that there exist common universal spiritual values. For the first time we are aware that this can be of help in truly establishing a general European dialogue, which is very dear to our hearts indeed, because it is quite possible that if within the next few years we fail to stop the progressive division of Europe into two opposing military blocs and two competitive economic integrations, Europe may become permanently divided into two different areas of culture and civilizations. The results of such a division would be very damaging to everyone, especially to the Poles. [passage omitted]

Father Professor Mieczyslaw Krapiec, Catholic University in Lublin: [passage omitted] In his general teachings, John Paul II always stresses the sovereignty and independence of the human being, human rights, and man's dignity as a sovereign and not as a subject, and as a goal of all human activities and not a tool of these activities. It seems that statements made by Mr General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev appear to be consistent with the concept of the sovereignty of man, nations, and states, particularly when he stresses partnership in decision-making and in solving various issues. Mankind would feel more secure if this were especially reaffirmed in some way. [passage omitted]

Zbigniew Safjan, writer: [Passage omitted] The Poles have been affected by a complex of incomplete independence for many years. This complex continued to be created and intensified by Stalinism and Polish Stalinism. We are still waiting for literature to create a complete picture of this Stalinism. That complex was a real fact, one that our adversaries knew how to exploit. Would it not have been easier to eliminate all our traumas and prejudices if the atmosphere of your present visit had existed earlier? Does not the course and climate of your visit indicate that the time has come for us to analyze our history more extensively and more courageously and to exploit the genuine psychological breakthrough in relations between our two peoples? [passage omitted]

Marcin Krol, journalist and historian: All historians are enormously pleased with being encouraged to deepen and accelerate their research into Polish-Russian relations. There have been some changes in this regard, but research could be greatly speeded up. Many facts require no research, but others have to be dealt with slowly. I think that at times history is too important to be left only to historians. Politicians should also take an interest in history. History imposes certain states of awareness on us and at times closes certain venues to us. One of the basic facts for many people in Poland was Brezhnev's doctrine and its realization in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago. My question is: How does the politician and not the historian view these facts today? [passage omitted]

Wojciech Zukrowski, chairman of the Union of Polish Writers: [Passage omitted] Is it possible that Pasternak's great epic novel Doctor Zhivago could have harmed socialism? If politicians will not harm socialism, then writers and their books will certainly not do so. [passage omitted]

Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz, journalist: [Passage omitted] We must realize that it is impossible to halt the threat of ecological annihilation, while trying to catch up—as we are doing—with that type of consumerist society which has been created by the 20th century. [passage omitted] It is right that our peoples want to enjoy better conditions and to get rid of their inferiority complexes vis-a-vis developed consumerist societies. However, the unfortunate thing is that the GDR, Poland, and the USSR are the three European centers of the greatest pollution of the natural environment. Eliminating this situation is not only a question of technology. It is also a question of ideology and culture. The simple thing is to create a system of values, goals, and customs that would be able to ensure welfare and happiness for people and give meaning to their existence and, at the same time, to counter the philosophy of consumerism and its destructive moral and material results. [passage omitted]

Professor Artur Sandauer, writer: Perhaps my question to the General Secretary is drastic and critical. As I have been able to see during my visit to the USSR, the general secretary and the entire Soviet Union invoke Lenin as the fundamental figure and Leninism as ideology. However, two facts have to be taken into consideration: Lenin was a magnificent figure, but he died early. In addition, Leninism covered a period of just a few years and was followed by a period of over 60 years, which continue to be evaluated critically or even very critically....

Today the situation is different. Can you then invoke the Leninist past? Lenin planned a world revolution, which was to be carried out by the Soviet party of the time and by the Communist International. Today this is not being mentioned and has become a secondary matter in the face of the struggle for what you call in Russian "mir i mir," that is, the world and peace. Those old tasks have receded before other new tasks. What role then does the party play when the world revolution has been postponed to some vague future? What role is the party to play so that it does not become a new bureaucracy imposed on an old bureaucracy? [passage omitted]

B. Suchodolski: Since not every intending speaker can take the floor because of the pressure of time, we propose to publish a book, which will describe whatever took place in this hall and will also include statements by all the people who have been unable to take the floor. [passage omitted]

Third Day of Visit Viewed

AU1807121988 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Jul 88 p 1

[Maksymilian Berezowski commentary: "A Journey Through Poland"]

[Text] As Mikhail Gorbachev has said at the Szczecin shipyard, his itinerary in Poland is inducing thought and reflection, no doubt because of the places he has visited and talks he has held.

There is no doubt that his itinerary, from Warsaw to Krakow to Szczecin, possesses a political and ideological undertone, and is not just for the purpose of sightseeing. His stay in Krakow and visit to the Wawel Castle was related to the traditions, culture, and history of the Polish state, situated at the crossroads of Europe—a state that experienced centuries of greatness and then disappeared from the map of Europe, only to be born again. From this, we have learned that our position vis-a-vis others is not a lasting gift from others. This position has to be constantly regenerated and confirmed through our own efforts and contribution.

The visit to Poronin brought home the ideological substance of the era of perestroyka, which refers to the revolution's moral values of equality, partnership, democracy, and liberty, in other words the principles which Mikhail Gorbachev has exalted to the status of primary laws governing the changes that are spreading far beyond the borders of the USSR.

The USSR leader's visit to Szczecin, the most westerly Polish city, has been accorded dual symbolism—as a symbol of joint struggles and joint losses by Poland and the USSR in the heavy war against the Hitlerite invader, and as a symbol of a joint determination to perpetuate European order and security on the basis of the postwar territorial reality. This reality has put an end to the shifts in Polish borders that occurred so many times in Poland's 1000-year history.

The Warsaw-Krakow-Szczecin route and the words spoken during this tour make it clear to the Poles that the Soviet leader identifies himself with their national interests and possesses a profound understanding for the Polish point of view and for Polish aspirations and problems. In Sz czecin, we heard Mikhail Gorbachev say that just as the USSR can feel Poland's friendly presence, so too Poland can expect reciprocal sentiment from the USSR.

No politics is free of emotion, at least not in its public version. In fact, it usually contains positive or negative feelings. In this case, the declaration of solidarity on the basis of understanding, warm feeling, and friendship is not a gesture of courtesy. The Soviet leader said that the Soviet Union very much needs cooperation with Poland, and Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed a similar thought on Poland's part.

In the Wawel Castle, Gorbachev wrote the following sentence in the visitors' book: "Good-neighborly relations between our countries is one of the guarantees of European security." I do not think this was a matter of courtesy either. Not wishing to indulge in megalomania, we realize after all that without Poland's energetic and willing participation in international decision-making, the development of relations in Europe would be less dynamic than it is. The Gorbachev locomotive, pulling a train of dialogue, also requires fuel and engine drivers from other sources than its own, whereas Poland is open in all directions—to alliance with its socialist neighbors and broad cooperation with all other countries. To repeat what Gorbachev said, together we will seek the key to a secure world.

Just as Krakow is a vantage point from which the watchful observer can glimpse the Polish soil, so too is Szczecin the window through which we view the world. The journey through Poland has not only brought Mikhail Gorbachev closer to the Poles, but has also brought the Poles closer to Mikhail Gorbachev. This rapprochement is a great joint investment by both allies.

Szczecin Visit Noted

AU1807135088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jul 88 p 2

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "The Spot Where Poland Begins"]

[Text] The 400,000 Szczecin inhabitants regard their city as the spot where Poland begins. In Szczecin M. Gorbachev again discovered the Polish people's sincerity, openness, and affection for the Soviet peoples. On the other hand, W. Jaruzelski came to a city of his heart, a city that received him as its own.

M. Gorbachev experienced in Szczecin most pleasant feelings as he did in Warsaw, Krakow, and Poronin. He did not conceal them in Szczecin and stressed several times the significance of his presence at the spot where Poland begins. He also offered his warm thanks for the hospitality he received.

Following Warsaw, which was full of great political events and speeches, and following Krakow, where history is present everywhere and where a meeting with young Poles and Soviet citizens was held, Szczecin turned out to be a center of everything—of the history of the struggle for the Polish character of the western territories, of the present Polish and Soviet issues of restructuring, renewal, and democratization, and of future efforts to ensure one's life in peace, secure confidence, and cooperation.

The Szczecin landscape is a focus of the historic and moral reasons of our state. W. Jaruzelski and M. Gorbachev spoke of this at the Warski shipyards when they recalled the historic justice and foundations of our life in Szczecin and when they stressed the inviolability of our borders and our joint efforts in favor of peace, disarmament, and international cooperation. The port city of Szczecin is a good symbol of such efforts, because it is open to the world and lives off the fruits of international economic cooperation. Although it is impossible to accurately calculate how much it owes its beauty and activity to its relations with Europe and the world, it is possible to assert that its maritime and industrial cooperation with the USSR continues to strengthen the prospects for the expansion, modernization, and future of the city and its voivodship.

Szczecin has also had its difficult moments, which were mentioned by W. Jaruzelski and M. Gorbachev. It was in Szczecin that workers protested the distortions of socialism and that foundations of agreement on present and future political, social, and economic reforms were created. It was also in Szczecin that candid talks have helped to improve the methods of self-government and of the democratic management of the country, the voivodship, and the city.

The city with a view on Poland, as W. Jaruzelski said, ties its development with democratization, renewal, and economic reforms.

As history and M. Gorbachev's present visit show, Szczecin is the best place to evaluate most accurately the particular importance of our alliances and the community of interests of our country, the USSR, and other socialist countries. Szczecin is the best place for testing Poland's neighborliness with its eastern, western, and southern friends.

Szczecin was also a place of highly emotional and practical talks between the Poles and their Soviet guests. M. Gorbachev said that those talks were a lesson from which one must learn for the benefit of oneself and one's own country. The exchange of experiences of the functioning of the socialist state, socioeconomic reforms, and democratization represents such a lesson. The term solidarity acquired in Szczecin the meaning of Polish-Soviet solicitude for the fates of the socialist states and for peace in Europe and the world.

At the spot where Poland begins M. Gorbachev experienced the best qualities of the Polish people—patriotism, internationalism, and faithfulness to national traditions and to people's hopes for a better future of the city, country, and Europe.

Gorbachev Shows 'Flexibility'

AU1807122088 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 14 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[Untitled editorial by SLOWO POWSZECHNE editor-in-chief Michal Kolodziejczyk]

[Text] This is not the first time that Szczecin has hosted a Soviet leader. Some of our readers will still remember the 1959 visit by Nikita S. Khrushchev. However, that visit was meant to demonstrate a readiness to defend the territorial-political reality established as a result of World War II, whereas Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, while stressing the need to remember the past, is completely modern in scope. It recognizes the efforts of the workers and peasants and their contribution toward our country's socialist renewal. In Szczecin, the CPSU general secretary had a rare opportunity to gain a detailed knowledge of the feelings and problems of Polish working people, and in this sense the Szczecin visit was an excellent culmination of previous days of the visit. It is difficult to impress workers, with so many years of hope and disappointment behind them, with mere slogans. That is perhaps why M. Gorbachev dispensed with his prepared speech and indulged in direct dialogue with the shipyard workers in simple language. Perhaps nowhere did his assurances of lasting friendship with the entire Polish people sound so sincere as here. It seemed that he was speaking with an awareness of what Wojciech Jaruzelski had said, namely: "Poland has a difficult past and complicated present, but one thing is certain: One pays for respect with respect, for good things with other good things, and for warm feelings with warm feelings." Encouraging intensive work, our guest tried to indicate concrete objectives, as well as the guarantees that perestroyka will not stop half-way and that it is not an episode, but a real breakthrough and a continuous historic process. As if to show that all those who perform their work honestly and efficiently according to their abilities will find a place for themselves in the reformed system, the Soviet leader found the time to visit a private farmer. This was a display of his consistent adherence to the principle whereby it is not those who talk a lot that work for the good of socialism, but those who, by means of their own effort, help create the material existence of the whole of society. Whoever is not against us is with us—that was the message of this unexpected visit, and it is worth drawing positive conclusions from this. In Szczecin there was no talk of a stubborn clinging to previously-decreed positions. Instead, there was a natural aim toward flexibility in solving the problems that are coming to light during the development of our relations. At the same time, it paid homage to those patriots of various shades, party and nonparty people, believers and nonbelievers, who had restored the Szczecin region to Poland in an equally unconventional way, through their own strength.

History of Relations With USSR Viewed

AU1807113388 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY (Supplement) in Polish 15 Jul 88 p 1

[Wladyslaw Tybura commentary: "Toward the Future Through History"]

[Text] M. Gorbachev's Polish visit has in part traced the trail of history. It is true that the visit's purpose has been directed toward the future, but the road to the future leads across history as well. Polish-Soviet relations show what a great liability the past can be and how necessary it is to purge history of falsehoods and omissions. This necessity is now quite obvious on both sides of the Bug, where a profound verification of history is continuing.

The fascination with Soviet changes concerns not only the revolutionary approach to the present and future of the USSR, but also the courage of disclosing the full truth about the past. This truth is often dramatic. It verifies not only the mute facts, but also the biographies of millions and millions of people and whole generations. This is creating profound respect for the Soviet changes and helps to make the process of these changes most convincingly credible.

This process has a direct bearing on our affairs and provides opportunities for ridding many aspects of our comprehensive relations of falsehoods. Not only does the drama of these relations go back centuries into the past, it also has its place in the past 70 years. Polish historians have already been able to demonstrate the objective truth of many important aspects of our mutual relations, especially up to 1939. I think that the full clarification of history up to that period is a matter of studying historical sources and not political restrictions.

Historical problems begin with 17 September 1939, on which day the crucial stream of our history became entangled with Soviet history. This stream could not have been truly and objectively clarified without the verification of Soviet history and without a profound revaluation of the appraisals and facts of the process of this history. The past 3 years have disclosed the full truth about Stalinism.

In 1987, in connection with the September anniversary, the USSR condemned the words about Poland that Molotov uttered at the Supreme Soviet's memorable session in 1939 and thus insulted the dignity of Poles. Soviet historians continue to argue about the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the so-called border agreement of 1939. In his Sejm speech, M. Gorbachev condemned the deportations of hundreds of thousands of Poles from the territories incorporated into the USSR after 17 September 1939. The fate of these Poles still has to be fully and objectively clarified.

The commission of Polish and Soviet historians continues to work on these thorny problems of our mutual relations in the past. It is possible that our expectations concerning the results of the commission's research and our obvious impatience have to be restrained by the fact that this research is difficult and that the evaluation of the historical values of sources must be honest. Although it is hard to urge the historians to expedite their work, we must not wonder that people are impatient in their hopes to reach the truth rapidly in a situation in which policy has removed such essential barriers in this regard.

The historic visit by M. Gorbachev, who is the chief architect of Soviet changes, has also produced positive repercussions in the history of our mutual relations. His important words to this effect have confirmed his openness to truth. However, the fact that they were uttered in Poland makes us hope that the history of our difficult and often complicated and dramatic relations will be completely purged of lies. I think that this also is a strong and sincere incentive for Polish and Soviet historians. In the name of the future, we must not procrastinate in revealing the complete truth about the past. This is also a canon of M. Gorbachev's philosophy in thinking and evaluating.

Pact PCC Meeting Deemed 'Turning Point'

LD1907101788 Warsaw PAP in English
0946 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—"The Warsaw meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee (PCC), the first after the Soviet-American Washington and Moscow summits and the historic 19th CPSU Conference as well as Mikhail Gorbachev's significant visit to Poland, took place at a particular turning point in the development of both the internal situation in the socialist states as well as in the international arena," today's TRYBUNA LUDU said.

"There are many signs which justify the expectation that the initiatives and proposals made during the Warsaw PCC meeting will fall on fertile soil and will contribute to the irreversibility of the healthy process of transformations, restructurization, renewal and democratization of relations inside our countries, inside our alliance and in the international arena.

"The PCC meeting in Warsaw took place in a period of a perceptible improvement of the international atmosphere, in conditions of the weakening of confrontation tendencies especially between the East and West. Signs of increasing realism in the policy of Western countries are visible. However, NATO's plans concerning the so-called compensation cannot fail to evoke concern. This, however, cannot dim the positive fact that the real process of disarmament has already begun. The persistent efforts by the USSR, Poland and other socialist states bear fruit in the shape of the first concrete disarmament steps," TRYBUNA added.

Alleged Strike at Stalowa Wola Steelworks Denied

LD1807175888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Information concerning a strike at the Stalowa Wola steelworks has appeared on western Polish-language broadcasting stations. The steelwork's press spokesman, through the good offices of PAP, explained that on 13 July a group of activists of the former Solidarnosc tried to call a strike. The reistatement of seven persons dismissed earlier for violating work regulations and the status of a defense industry enterprise, was demanded. This did not result in a strike. Five of the dismissed workers have started work at the steelworkers on conditions proposed to them earlier and the two others have been given work in other enterprises.

Coal Miners' Dispute in Laziska Resolved

LD1807213988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Last Saturday, 16 July, part of the workforce of the third shift of the Boleslaw Smialy coal mine in Laziska did not begin work. This was a protest on economic grounds, relating to the remuneration system and changes to it, the restoration of entitlements contained in the Miners' Charter, and also certain internal matters of the coal mine. Talks were held in the trade union building in the evening between the chief director of the Jaworzno-Mikolow Coal Guild, the director of the mine, the trade unions, and representatives of the workforce. The talks led to the solution of certain problems, particularly the internal matters of the mine. The talks were continued today. Rajmund Moric, chairman of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, took part in the talks. It was agreed that all demands will be resolved in this way. Talks also took place with the workforce of the first and second shifts, which began work after the clarification and reports on the course of the negotiations.

Solidarity Demonstrates at Supporter's Funeral

LD1807170688 Hamburg DPA in German
1536 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—About 2,000 people, including workers' leader Lech Walesa and other representatives of the banned Solidarity trade union, came to Powazki Cemetery in Warsaw on Monday for the burial of Jan Strzelecki, Polish sociologist and Solidarity adviser. He died at the age of 69 after suffering grave head injuries in a mysterious attack on the night of the 29/30 June. to date the police have no trace of the culprits who brutally beat him up.

During the funeral a telegram from Pope John Paul II was read out. The telegram praised Strzelecki as a person who had "rendered services to dialogue and solidarity among people of good will." In his speech, historian Adam Michnik also stressed on behalf of Walesa that

Strzelecki had been firmly convinced that there was "no freedom without Solidarity." A number of banners in support of the banned trade union were held aloft during the funeral.

Strzelecki worked at the Academy of Sciences. He was active on the dissident Worker's Defense Committee (KOR), became an adviser to Solidarity in 1980 and was expelled from the PZPR in 1981. He was interned after the imposition of martial law in December 1981. Strzelecki died without regaining consciousness.

PZPR's Rakowski Gives 'Confidential' Report

AU1807175988 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Jul 88 pp 119-120

[Excerpt from confidential report by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary: "Our System Is Antiquated"]

[Text] Whereas reformer Gorbachev tried last week to give the PZPR an understanding of openness and perestroyka [Russian word used], somebody had already got it: Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who as a confidant of party chief Jaruzelski rose to become a Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in a confidential document to the party leadership voiced harsh criticism of the system. The upshot: Socialism is antiquated, capitalism is more attractive; if the system wants to survive it has to tolerate opposition. These are excerpts from the secret report:

Even though the Polish crisis has its own laws, its special colors and tones, we cannot fail to see that basically, symptoms of a crisis situation have appeared in all socialist countries with different intensities.

Not only the PPR, but the majority of socialist countries threaten to lower themselves to the positions of those countries which are unable to face the virtually revolutionary technological development in the capitalist world.

Socialist ideology has lost its attractiveness in our society life. This has many reasons, including the petrifaction of theory and practice that has now been so brutally exposed by Gorbachev, and the successive, usually bloody convulsions (GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, China, Cambodia).

Regarding the decreasing attractiveness of the slogans proclaimed by us it is important that because of the development of the mass media, the people in our countries have an opportunity to "look into" the capitalist system. From this constant insight, the common man draws his conclusions that are unfavorable for socialism.

He is not interested in unemployment and the other diseases of capitalism, that he has never known. His relationship with capitalism is based on superficial feelings. In view of capitalist everyday life he concludes that capitalism is a system where both the worker and the bourgeois have an opportunity to enjoy the advantages of technical development and competition.

In the common man's view, everyday life of people in the highly developed capitalist countries is easier and more comfortable. We must not disregard these feelings because they are not unfounded.

The feeble attempts that have been made so far to create conditions for more rational production and economic growth have not led to a decrease in the existing distance (between both systems' state of development), with the result that the mood of frustration, which makes itself felt in our society, too, has deepened. That holds particularly true for the young generation which associates the idea of progress primarily with that technical level that the highly developed capitalist countries have.

That is not a sign of submissiveness. After all, all the characteristics of material civilization, such as radar, nylon, television, jeans, hot dogs, and many others come from the West. On the other hand, regarding internationally used terms, our system has created two symbolic terms: sputnik and kazachok [folk dance in which legs are kicked out while squatting]. The former is far away from our everyday life, the latter is danced in Paris dancing halls (a nostalgic fashion in memory of old Russia). Currently, perestroyka and glasnost are struggling to be internationally recognized. But they, too, are terms from the realm of ideas, not from that of material existence.

It is by these and many other circumstances that the thesis has been justified that socialism has arrived at a historic turning point. It will either find in itself sufficient creative power, courage, and imagination to liberate itself from ideas that are no longer useful as well as from antiquated judgments, or it will condemn itself to a slow death.

Should there be no power of renewal, we must assume that the future of our system will be marked by convulsions and revolutionary explosions that will increasingly be initiated by enlightened people.

In this respect, the question is interesting to what extent the followers of socialism, in particular the leading bodies in the socialist countries, are aware of the necessity of basic change—change not only in the area of the economy, but also in the political structures of real, existing socialism. That includes the question to what extent they are convinced that the existing model of socialism is antiquated.

There is no definite answer to these questions. Despite numerous assertions about the necessity of a new philosophy, it is hard for us not to be under the impression that being an ideological formation we tend even now to indulge in windy rhetoric rather than take the bull by the horns.

Who is this bull? It consists of many problems, including in particular the necessity to formulate a precise definition of socialist property, meaning of the nature of power. Because the existing forms of property (preponderance of state-owned over any other property) do not guarantee the desired increase in labor efficiency, proposals have been formulated in some socialist countries in recent years to make producers, meaning the workers class, owners of the means of production.

Because the "bureaucratic system," as it is called, has alienated the producers from the means of production; that has led to huge losses that nobody will ever be able to replace.

It has been said and written that the producers should become a subject in the socioeconomic system of socialism. It has been suggested that self-management of staffs and enterprises should be made the basis of such an understanding.

These demands are widespread here in Poland as well. They were expressed in the theses on the second stage of our economic reform. In this connection there is also talk about the issue of enterprise shares as well as other means that are to give the producers the impression that they are the owners of the production means.

To grant the producers this very role, certainly is the only way leading to an efficiency increase in the socialist economic system.

However, if that is correct, the communist parties which do not want to give up their decisive influence on the social development must be aware of the political and social consequences of changes in the area of socialist property.

It is also worthwhile to think about whether the opinion still occasionally exists that we could refer to the reason of state, if it were to come to another explosion some day. Then the threat could be that somebody could interfere in our internal affairs. What would happen if this somebody out of regard for his own interests does not want to interfere at all?

We cannot but ask the question whether all the leading comrades in the party and state are drawing the proper conclusions from the new political setup that is developing in the socialist community.

It must be clear in policy who is in favor and who is opposed to it. In other words: The dividing line between the supporters and opponents of reform must be clearly visible. Should it be possible that there are no "socialist conservatives" in our country?

Every analysis of the current political ratio of forces must consider the extent of the antisocialist opposition's influence. Without recalling the circumstances that developed in the early eighties, we must state that as compared to the second half of the seventies, the opposition now is much more powerful, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

We must not forget that at that time a numerically small group of "KOR" supporters set the entire coastal region into motion (footnote) (KOR: civil rights group for the defense of workers, founded by intellectuals in 1976). Now the number of our active opponents surely is going into the thousands. Now they also have opportunities to pursue their activities, that they could not even have dreamed about at the time.

Whatever we say about sanctions—it remains a fact that oppositional structures have developed and grown in the present decade and that they have functioned on a broad scale and virtually without any major obstacles. In reality, we are dealing with a split political life in the PPR.

It is now the opposition's main goal to obtain legal guarantees for its existence and activities. Should we just list these aspirations in the category of pious wishes?

Releasing the so-called noncriminal prisoners, tolerating the "second culture" (underground press, underground publishers, and cultural events outside censorship), tolerating the conferences and meetings organized by the opposition, some of them even being of an international nature—all that surely means nothing else but that in reality we have already recognized the opposition as a lasting element on the country's political map.

It is more than certain that the West will not stop supporting the opposition morally-politically as well as financially because just like the opposition in Poland it wants to change the system.

To be sure, none of the politicians and ideologues of the capitalist world hold the view that this goal is within reach, but the social-political development in the socialist camp is interpreted by them to the effect that this goal must not be abandoned.

What has to be expected in the next few years? A continuation of the current situation? Or will there be a trade-unionist pluralism, after all? And would it not be possible that one organized opposition movement crystallizes out of the many opposition currents—a movement that would have to be accepted and admitted to take part in elections?

What is dramatic about the current situation is that the belief in reality, in the feasibility of the goals that we have set for ourselves at the party congresses, is not strongly rooted among the party members. Like millions of non-party members, the comrades have grown accustomed to the idea that the economic crisis in Poland may still last many years.

Like non-party members, party members also have a critical relationship with the supreme leadership, however. They do not believe that the government and party leadership are able to bring about a change in the country's socioeconomic situation. Like millions of non-party members, many party members are now skeptical of assertions that socialism is capable of overcoming its own weaknesses.

Council of Ministers Discusses Economy, Harvest

LD1807222788 Warsaw PAP in English
1952 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—Poland's Council of Ministers at a meeting here today discussed the report on the course and results of the 64th session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance CMEA held in Prague from July 5 to 7. Assessment of 64th CMEA Session [subhead]

The 64th session was assessed to be of large significance for intensifying socialist integration and tightening economic and scientific-technological cooperation, in which Poland is vitally interested.

The cooperation of CMEA states should lead to the creation of an integrated socialist market with a free flow of commodities, services, and factors of production, ensuring highest effectiveness of their utilization in the interest of each member of the community.

1989 Central Annual Plan [subhead]

The Council of Ministers discussed the first draft of assumptions of the Central Annual Plan (CPR) for the year 1989, which envisages a growth of the scope of self-financing and self-dependence of enterprises, as well as development of competition and weakening the position of monopolists in manufacturing and trade. The monopoly of procurement, processing, and turnover of agricultural produce and food articles is expected to be broken, and the development of capital goods market supported.

Radical diminishing of price-rising rate and curbing inflation are to be the major goals of the social and economic policy in 1989.

According to the assumptions of the plan, industrial production should rise by 3.5 to 5 per cent, and national income produced should grow by 3.6 to 4 per cent.

The plan aims at reducing the central budget deficit, balancing people's purchasing funds with supplies for the market and bringing into balance investment demand and building capacities and also supplies of machinery and equipment for investment purposes.

Balancing Market and Curbing Inflation [subhead]

The Council of Ministers heard a programme of actions toward balancing the market and curbing the inflation in the second half of 1988.

The volume of retail sales grew by 4 per cent in 1988's first six months, with food sales growth of 2 per cent, industrial goods sale growth of 7 per cent, and 4-per-cent decline in liquor sales. At the same time, the share of stocks growth in the value of consumption goods supply rose too.

These positive processes were, however, accompanied by a negative phenomenon of faster growth in the population's income if real growth in production of goods and services were compared with price growth.

Governmental Orders for 1989 [subhead]

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on 1989 governmental orders for raw materials, materials, ready-made products and for repair and construction services.

The basic criterion behind designing a list of governmental orders for raw materials, materials, ready-made products and for repair and construction services.

The basic criterion behind designing a list of governmental orders for 1988 is the necessity to ensure supplies of raw materials and materials indispensable to produce highly-qualified final products which, in turn, are indispensable to national economy and which serve to enhance structural transformations and to lower energy and material consumption in production.

A substantial item on the list of governmental orders are pharmaceuticals and components used in manufacturing medicaments and medical equipment. The government earmarked some 40 per cent of the orders' sum total for this purpose.

The order list includes now only 108 items, which is by about 30 per cent less than this year, with the same level of hard curency means available maintained.

Harvest Campaign in 1988 [subhead]

The Council of Ministers considered report on harvest campaign, with particular stress placed on the condition of storage and drying facilities.

A significant shortage of rainfall is observed. At some 18 per cent of cultivable area, this year's rainfall has amounted to as little as 30 per cent of the long-term average, while in some 65 per cent of the area the rainfall total has ranged between 30 to 75 per cent of the average.

More farming machinery than last year has been prepared to harvest over 9.5 million hectares of arable land. The machinery is also better primed for harvesting. It is estimated that some 70 to 75 per cent of field work will be performed mechanically.

Contracting of grain and potatoes for procurement has encompassed over 6 million tonnes.

Draft Law on Polish State Railways Enterprise [subhead]

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on the PKP Polish State Railways enterprise.

The draft positions the PKP Polish State Railways within the new legal order which underlies social and economic restructuring of the country.

The traditional role of the PKP as a carrier and an investor developing the network of railroad connections is being, under the draft, expanded by engagement in foreign trade operations.

PZPR CC Considers Price Committee

LD1907000088 Warsaw PAP in English 1628 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—Participants in a meeting held at the PUWP CC today considered the question: What character, scale of activities and decision, and personal composition should be given to the state-social committee for the policy on prices and incomes to ensure the best possible representation of the diverse social interests and reconciliating them.

The motion which suggested the creation of such a committee was included in the resolution of the 7th CC plenary meeting. It reads, among other things, that the committee is to "provide a broad plane for coordination of the principles of the policy on prices and incomes, leading to a passage from single-stroke to smooth, continuous changes in the level and structure of prices."

The discussants voiced various, frequently extreme, opinions from ones denying the effectiveness of such an organ as an institution creating public consensus on problems of prices and incomes to those emphasizing the need for a quick setting up of such an organ which would have a wide range of decision-making powers.

Political Bureau Member, CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka stressed that the starting point for the activities of the committee should first of all be an objective diagnosis of the economic situation. It would be naive to think that the appointment of the committee by itself would earn it a sufficient public prestige in questions as difficult as the policy on prices and incomes. The committee must earn this prestige with honesty of its diagnoses and objectivity of its judgements. Hence, the framework of its activities cannot be determined in advance. This framework should be expanded with growing public approval of the committee.

Messner Addresses Local Government Conference

AU0907060188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 88 pp 3,4

[Speech by Premier Zbigniew Messner at a 4 July conference of voivodas and chairmen of voivodship people's councils in Warsaw]

[Text] Esteemed citizens! On behalf of the Council of Ministers and on my own behalf, I wish to congratulate the newly-elected chairmen of voivodship people's councils and wish them fruitful work for the benefit of their areas and the whole country.

I myself was chairman of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council for 3 years, so I know the duties involved from my own experience.

There is no doubt that discharging these duties is much more difficult today, with the considerably increased scope and possibilities of the people's councils, as well as their considerably increased responsibilities. In any case, I think every councillor already experienced this new quality during the election, held according to more democratic rules.

From the point of view of the entire state administration, the role of representative bodies in modernizing the state and economy, overcoming objective and psychological barriers, and accelerating the reform cannot be exaggerated.

I do not intend for this to be a declaration. On the contrary, I am admitting a fact that is the direct result of the PZPR's path of reform, which is being implemented together with the allied parties and all PRON participants.

Expanding people's rule and self-government at every level is one of the basic rules of the reform and renewal. It is contained in the new rules of action of the people's councils, consisting of the constitutional amendment, the amendment to the law on people's councils and local self-government bodies, and accompanying legislation.

The legal and financial independence of the councils has increased considerably. As of 1 January 1989, they will be independent economic bodies, and thus have full legal and civic status. For example, they will be able to receive credits. They will also manage all the funds in their areas. They will have legal guarantees that their budget surpluses and expanded sources of income will not be touched.

Work is under way on a new category of social ownership, namely communal property, to which a separate law will be devoted. The work should be concluded before the end of the year. The property will belong to local self-government bodies, and will involve two categories thereof. The first is buildings used for specific purposes, in other words accommodation and administrative blocks, schools, health premises, and open spaces. Such property is currently in the hands of the State Treasury. The second category is economic units carrying out activity for economic gain, taxation on which will augment the budgets of the people's councils.

The public property that is under communal ownership will be the basic guarantee and material base for the real independence of the councils.

From the end of the year, local government bodies will perform the function of parent bodies for 3,500 Polish state enterprises, half the total number thereof. The very nature of this function will change at the same time. Until now, this function was a mere administrative instrument of authority over the enterprises. But now it will involve actually encouraging enterprises to be industrious and consolidating their independence and responsibility.

The possibilities for local bodies are incomparably greater than that of central bodies, because they are better acquainted with local needs. One can see things better and notice shortcomings sooner when one is close to the scene.

When performing the function of a parent body, it is extremely important to remember that each of these enterprises belongs to Poland first and to the voivodship second. In other words, parochial interests must not be allowed to dominate. One cannot tolerate the principle of "what's yours is mine, and what's mine don't touch."

In fact, that was the attitude inherent in some suggestions about the division of enterprises whose headquarters are in a different voivodship, and was also conveyed in the protests against the division of enterprises in one's own area. We discussed ways of resolving these problems at the last conference of voivodas. I said it would be ridiculous to divide enterprises which already play a major role in imports and exports. To put it briefly, we must all employ economic common sense in this matter.

Neither can one limit an enterprise's market to the voivodship it is in, curb its exports, or restrict its independence and freedom of association. In other words, moves by parent bodies must be confined to the legal framework.

The methods of exercizing supervision are also important.

The Economic Reform Commission believes that the selection of parent bodies for some local enterprises was wrong. Last year, for example, out of 2,700 enterprises under local supervision, in only one was a supervisory council appointed as a professional planning and control body. Applications for concessions and subsidies for 72 inefficient enterprises were made, but not once was bankruptcy applied for. At the same time, as many as 4,571 investigations were made, resulting in an average of two investigations per month for each enterprise.

On its part, the government, acting according to the principle of equal treatment for all economic units, assures each enterprise equally fair conditions, regardless of who their parent body is. That is the essence of last year's reform to central institutions.

The supreme bodies of state administration do not represent "group" interests, but are meant to form unified policy concerning industry, transportation, agriculture, and other spheres of socioeconomic activity. This change to the functions of central and field bodies is not proceeding without opposition. Ministers and voivodas have objected to the handover of some enterprises. Here again we must act together, though it must be remembered that there will be parochial interests that will slow down this process of handing enterprises from the care of the center to the care of the field.

Therefore we hope that the elimination of parochialism on both sides will will finally dispel the fears of some enterprises that their working conditions will deteriorate under the new supervision of local bodies. I wish to stress that many enterprises have clearly expressed these fears.

The income of enterprises that have been handed over to the field will considerably increase the financial possibilities of the people's councils, just as the creation of communal property will. What is more, local budgets will also receive a proportion of the taxes of enterprises that are under the supervision of central bodies. Until now, all these taxes have gone to the central budget.

Such a solution will not only increase the financial resources of local authorities, but will also enable them to cooperate more closely with enterprises in their area, again regardless of the parent body.

All these changes create a new position of the people's councils in Poland's entire socioeconomic system. By the nature of things, their role as energetic participants in reforming the economy and state is growing.

How should this participation be manifested?

A full use of the new legal-economic possibilities presents both the chance and the need to jointly implement the following spheres of state policy in particular:

—Restructure the economy, achieve organizational-scientific progress, and develop exports;

—Support economic initiatives and create conditions for the development of all sectors;

—Observe the requirements of efficiency and self-finance in all economic units and rationalize budget spending;

—Improve the quality of social services, communal services, and service to citizens in offices.

So much has been said in recent years, especially months, about restructuring the economy that I do not want to list yet again the reasons why all this is necessary.

I am convinced that today nearly all of us are responsible for the development of the spheres that bring progress, ensure modern and economical production, and guarantee market supplies.

Accelerating the changes in this direction is one of the major purposes of the special powers granted to the government by the Sejm.

We have started our action on a relatively modest scale—the liquidation of 21 enterprises and the division of 7. Further moves are being considered.

Our action is motivated by three factors.

First, the need to eliminate excessively capital-intensive units that are obviously antiquated and have no prospects of independent development. The reason is simple: They "drag" the economy backwards and necessitate enormous financial outlays and expenditure of energy and materials. By the way, the fact that such enterprises have had good results once in a while is no reason to save them. That is not the point. The point is to alter the structure of the economy, in other words eliminate those enterprises that, from the point of view of the structure of the economy, have not been efficient but energy and materials-intensive instead. For this reason they should be eliminated, even if they have not been running at a loss recently.

Second, the economic results achieved by enterprises over a longer period of time. If the results are unsatisfactory, there is no reason to tolerate a waste of public resources any longer.

Third, we want to employ all this activity to create wherever possible economic units with a much greater economic strength, for example by means of reorganization or cadre changes.

In no case can these decisions be considered circumstantial. Every one of them is the result of careful analysis.

I hope that the people's councils will support the process of restructuring and understand the need for it and the need for rapid results thereof.

If we really want to modernize the economy and state, not one of us can adopt a "no" position or remain a mere observer or critic. Let us be frank: it is impossible for restructuring to occur in every voivodship except the one of whose people's council one happens to be chairman. Neither will the reform succeed if everyone defends "what is his" in order to prevent the liquidation of inefficient units. One could observe such an attitude when the first tentative decisions were taken, so it is essential that subsequent, bolder steps be accompanied by the conviction that they are essential. Under the economic reform, the initiator of legal procedures designed to heal the situation of enterprises with no credit rating or an uncertain financial position will, of course, be the bank. The point is that an improvement in their financial situation should be caused by an improvement in management. The people's councils should make sure that the programs for healing enterprises under their supervision are implemented with a minimum of funds from outside. The greater the involvement of local government bodies in implementing the "harsh" rules of finance, the sooner will the economy achieve equilibrium.

The elimination of enterprises is one side of the coin, and the other side is increased efforts to set up new buoyant and modern enterprises, which are able to produce goods of world standards for export and the home market.

Despite well-established traditions, such enterprises do not have to be giants, which are financed and supervised from the center. What we really need is many independent units that are flexible enough to respond to the needs of the people, to rouse competition, and to ease the daily servicing of citizens.

The Sejm work on the bill on economic activities is continuing. It is being said that this bill is the "third foundation" of the reform, side by side with the laws on enterprises and self-government bodies.

If the Sejm turns that bill into law, it will be the basic local bodies of administration and, to some extent, voivodship bodies that will determine how rapidly and effectively that law will be implemented. Of course, this will also depend on various additional regulations and on changes in the taxation system, prepared by the center.

The first point is to fully realize economic freedom and to spread the awareness that administration is no longer in charge of permitting most of economic initiatives, but merely registers them and that the essence of its work is not issuing permits, but facilitating the activities of all those who want to work.

In this case one must think like an entrepreneur: How can the local community benefit? What needs will be satisfied? What additional incomes will flow to the local budget?

We should realize that increased supplies of goods and services are now of economic as well as social and political significance.

The stand of the councils and the effectiveness of their inspirational and control functions will determine many things.

The councils' influence in changing the mentality, attitudes, and conduct of economic and administrative activities can be of most crucial significance.

Let me say something about nonsocialized economic activities in this connection. We can assert that for many years there have been as many lines of policy as there have been the people's councils. Some councils lauded some lines and others condemned them for many reasons.

However, since the increased flow of goods and the establishment of a normal market are some of the chief tasks of the reform, the accomplishment of these tasks must not be made dependent on the good or bad will of the local bosses. Those bosses who are against these tasks simply hinder state policy.

This also applies to the undertakings with foreign capital. The government bill in this connection is in the hands of the Sejm.

Other bills which will be tackled by the Sejm this year include, aside from the already mentioned bill on the issue of obligations, the bills on trading law companies, on economic judicature, on economic control, on the management of production equipment and manpower, and on law-making, which is an absolute innovation, one that will also affect local bodies.

The bill on the legislative powers of the Council of Ministers will cut these powers by almost one-third, which means that the process of legislation will be decentralized.

Seeing that regulations are rapidly implemented and the new norms are correctly observed in practice are important specific subjects to be tackled by the new people's councils, especially by their specialist commissions.

The people's councils should initiate reviews of the local laws and internal regulations of the local offices to find out whether they are compatible with the reform. The center will make such a review by the end of this year. We will also be grateful to the chairmen of the people's councils for proposals on how to simplify and improve legal enactments.

An important thing in this connection is to exploit as rapidly as possible the opportunities created by the new regulations. The issue of obligations to obtain funds for socially important goals is an example of this.

Another example is the countervailing tax on the fixed assets that have not been used. This instrument, which was created under the special powers granted to the government, has been used not to collect money, but to force enterprises to manage their production assets more effectively or to transfer them to other, more efficient enterprises, which are thus able to increase their production and profits. Such militant thinking is a must in all areas.

The general prevailing view is that the evaluation of the people's councillors is determined by what funds they have been able to wangle out of the center for this or that investment. That councillor was good who was able to "engineer" some advantage.

The criteria of evaluation must now be changed not only because the councils' incomes continue to increase, which boosts their ability to better meet local needs. We should remember that these budgets increase at the cost of the central budget, whose income is bound to diminish.

The second stage of the economy reform makes it necessary for the councils to solve their local problems under their own steam and to ensure that all means are exploited for this purpose. We should realize that this process will take some years to develop and that therefore we will not be able to do everything all at once.

The first thing to do is to clearly realize the need of the present times: To be effective in exploiting what we already have and not to build yet some more plants or schools. Of course, I do not advocate giving up every plan. You do not give up a plan if it constitutes the best possible solution to urgent economic or social problems.

The present performance of the people's councils has been often marked by an apparent contradiction between the urgency of implementing various nonproduction projects such as the construction of new apartments, hospitals, or schools, and the need to spend funds on profitable economic activities.

Actually, such contradictions do not exist, because creating one's own material and fiscal base is the best way to meet people's needs.

The new role of the people's councils consists primarily in inspiring efforts to create one's own resources and not in jockeying for the best position in the line for concessions and subsidies.

Actually, this is the crux of the entire process of the present changes.

Esteemed gathering, let me discuss some detailed issues, in which the councils are usually most interested.

They are housing construction, farming, the flow of goods, and adequate services for the population.

The 5 months of housing construction this year have produced some positive results for the first time for a long time.

Over 30,000 apartments were completed, which is the highest number for 3 years. The number of apartments under construction is by almost 10,000 higher than at the end of 1987.

However, it is hard for us to regard this as something permanent, because last May the number of completed apartments was by 300 apartments smaller than in May 1987. In addition, voivodas and other bodies continue to complain about the difficulties in material supplies.

As you know, to intensify housing construction, the government has proposed to modify some laws at the coming Sejm session. Some government decrees and other legal enactments will also be modified.

Let me openly state that, because of the urgency of the housing problems, in some cases we have bent the principles of the reform to suit the needs of construction, especially with regard to wages and taxation.

Some voivodships continue to effectively exploit existing priorities in order to stimulate construction, but some do nothing else except to keep on applying to the center for further subsidies, concessions, and preferences.

The recent findings of the Supreme Control Chamber show that we cannot be optimistic about reductions in material consumption and about a more effective exploitation of equipment and other production assets. The work organization in enterprises continues to be defective, and chaos and wastefulness still reign on many building sites.

Progress in acquiring sites for housing construction is nonexistent. The recent review of construction sites carried out by the Ministry of Construction and Land Use Management has been all but completely abortive.

And yet everywhere you look you can see waste fields and barren plots which could become good building sites. That is why we will have once again to review the plans of land use management for the purpose of sites that are suitable for construction.

The main tasks in this regard are:

—To make a breakthrough in acquiring and preparing building sites,

—To develop the production of building materials with local resources,

—To increase the construction potential, including the potential of trades, and to improve the organization of this potential and the exploitation of production factors,

—To ensure tangible technical and organizational assistance for private construction.

We consider every general proposal with attention, but we think that all available local opportunities must be exploited on the spot.

It is still impossible to definitely evaluate the crop situation in farming. Although at the end of the winter the state of crops was very good, the April and May drought made it necessary to revise our findings, and some people even thought that farm yields would be greatly reduced. The June weather accelerated the growth of crops, but not at the same rate in every individual region.

Regardless of what the farm yields is, one thing is certain: We must create favorable technical and organizational conditions for the harvest. In particular, we must eliminate breaks in the work of machines, ensure a good organization of procurement points, continue to supply consumer goods to rural areas, and keep rural shops open as necessary.

We must also accelerate long-term measures to improve the situation of the rural areas and farming. These measures include the agrarian structure, the production and service base, and the social infrastructure such as health centers and educational and cultural facilities.

The government will help the local communities to acquire the necessary equipment and funds and will back initiatives to this end, but self-government bodies will have to play the decisive role in this.

Although the economic results of the first 6 months of the year were generally favorable, the balance between the flow of money and goods is a cause for greatest concern.

This is one reason why our people are so pessimistic. They see economic reality mainly in the flow of goods, which is only natural. Most decisions made under the government's special powers have sought to tangibly improve the flow of goods and to halt inflation.

These decisions include the following measures:

—Making concessions resulting from export dependent on the maintenance of the flow of goods to the domestic marketplaces at least the last year's level; we cannot agree that many enterprises continue to export whatever they can, while forgetting the domestic market; we want to ensure that enterprises supply the home market with at least as many consumer goods as they did last year and that they increase their exports by increasing their production;

—Applying even more stringent instruments to curb price hikes and thus to reduce inflationary increases in wages;

—Increasing convertible currency allowances for imports of consumer goods and of materials and component parts for the production of such goods;

—Introducing customs and other concessions.

The list of the goods that should always be available for sale is about to be completed; the Seventh Central Committee Plenum instructed the government to draw up such a list.

Aware of the overriding importance of a balanced market, the government has taken action against the managers of some enterprises and cooperatives in which economic proportions, especially the relation between work and wages, have been violated. Much more stringent action will be taken in such cases after the first half of this year.

Dismissals or suspensions of managers have triggered protests, but these protests have not been too many. However, although the people concerned know that decisions to dismiss or to suspend managers are necessary, they, including the local authorities, are not very eager to back these decisions in practice. That is why we ask the local authorities and the chairmen of the voivodship people's councils to cooperate with us in this task. We must create a climate in which those people who have no understanding for the economic reform, who follow the line of least resistance, and who increase prices and wages are not allowed to exercise managerial functions.

Essentially, regional organs do not propose dismissals for the violation of the principles of state prices and incomes policy. However, the policy is not realized in ministry buildings, but in concrete enterprises or cooperatives.

That is one aspect of the problem.

However, there are other aspects to the problem of economic equilibrium.

For example, the intention behind changes in the financing of regional budgets is, as I have already said, that revenue obtained at the regional level be increased, which is something that is closely linked to the standard of administration.

This revenue also includes a tax on wages that increases as wages increase.

Additional expenditure on wages that is divorced from performance has an inflationary effect. This means that taxation that exceeds planned levels—thus, this also applies to regional budget revenue that exceeds planned levels—is also of this kind.

This mechanism creates a situation in which regional authorities might have an interest in higher wages. At the close of every year regional budgets run up a large surpluses whereas the central budget finishes the year with an enormous deficit.

The government's position is that the surpluses that people's councils manage to produce should be left for them to dispose of. However, it is our intention that this principle applies to surpluses that are the product of efficient financial management. It cannot apply to the tax on wages. So, it is a problem that we have to solve together.

In addition to the availability of goods, the way in which the retail trade sector operates also has an important impact on public perceptions. The network of retail outlets, their branch structure, and opening hours often prompt justified public criticism. An extreme example of neglect was the well known case of the shortage of bakery products in Warsaw on a Saturday holiday.

This state of affairs was not the result of technical, supply, transportation, or currency difficulties, but of organizational neglect. Appropriate action has been taken.

I have only cited this example to draw attention to the fact that regional authorities must take particular note of this problem. It is often believed that retail trade does not operate properly on a Saturday, because the number of goods that are available can be sold over 5 days. This is an oversimplified view. It has nothing to do with serving customers properly and the functioning of retail trade.

This cannot be our main method of operating. There has to be a change in the approach to retail trade activity. It is not enough to wait for larger deliveries.

Initiative is just as important in retail trade as it is in manufacturing. To a very great extent, its expansion depends on local authorities and the requirements that they impose. One can expect more initiative in precisely this area once appropriate resolutions have been adopted. A gradual demonopolization of procurement, advantageous conditions for markets and other forms of "free trade" can help improve the overall market situation.

It is essential to move toward satisfying these tendencies. This is not always the case. For example, one can point to the fact that the advantageous regulations governing the franchising system have been implemented too slowly so far. The main reasons for this state of affairs have been bureaucratic obstacles in the form of insufficient understanding of the varied conditions under which franchise operators work and frequent cases of an excessively guarded approach on the part of the regional administration. This also applies to the so-called small-scale catering industry, which leave a lot to be desired and at which many critical observations are directed.

Amendments to current legislation will speed up the increase in people's council independence in the field of public services in a broad sense. Besides, people's councils have, in relative terms, the greatest number of achievements and the greatest amount of experience in this area, because education, health care, environmental protection, and tourism have always been at the center of their attention.

A committee of experts is intensively engaged in work on a future model of national education. The results will be submitted at the PZPR National Delegate Conference. They will also be the subject of extensive discussion not just in the education community but in many communities.

However, there are a whole series of problems that urgently require immediate solutions. They are chiefly:—the material situation in which teachers find themselves, which is something that must be dealt with as quickly as possible;—working conditions in schools and the possibility of ensuring an appropriate educational standard;—improving the administration of education and ensuring essential changes in the organization of the education system.

The demographic peak is now being reflected in the number of pupils attending schools above the grade school level. In centers such as Warsaw, there has been a drastic increase in the number of young people seeking entry to general education high schools in particular. There has also been a drastic decline in the possibility of satisfying their aspirations. This is a nationwide problem.

As for investment activity, interest is directed in the opposite direction. As a result, by far the greatest part of the modest resources that are available are being directed toward the construction of grade schools and kindergartens. This is confirmed by the implementation of the National Socioeconomic Plan for the years 1986-87. A great many more schools became available for use than was envisaged by the plan: in the case of kindergartens (58 percent more), grade schools (almost 55 percent more), schools above the grade school level, on the other hand (a little less than 15 percent). Thus, it is necessary to assess the situation and the local distribution of resources and, at times, to even change the allocation of resources once an investment project is already under way.

Determined efforts are being made at the regional level to pursue a policy of "latching on" to educational investment projects with symbolic sums from the funds of the National School Assistance Campaign and then launching strenuous efforts to obtain state subsidies. The effect of this is that the investment effort is diluted, the duration of construction cycles is extended, and more difficult tasks are not addressed.

It seems that one of the first steps that the new councils should take is to conduct a careful examination of the condition and future prospects of educational investment.

Similar steps have to be taken with regard to the construction of housing for teachers in places with populations of under 5,000. The minister of national education has addressed appropriate proposals to voivodas concerning adjustments to voivodship housing construction plans.

Only a small number of voivodas have assumed these tasks. If these tasks are not accomplished, we will not improve the cadre situation in education, especially in small communities, and will not make progress in eliminating regional disparities in standards of teaching and education.

The government will offset the effects of increases in official prices by providing subsidies for education from the central budget. The effects of increases in contractual prices must be borne by regional budgets, because they receive the growing revenue derived from taxes stemming from increases in this group of prices. In view of the working conditions that exist in schools, it would in every sense be desirable for councils to take full account of educational establishment needs to spend more.

The organization of recreation, especially recreational activities for children and young people during vacations, is an important matter. A great deal depends on the coordination of efforts made by regional social bodies and organizations and on cooperation between people's councils and enterprises.

The government is preparing a series of proposed changes to the principles for tourism and leisure activities so that they suit the second stage of the reform and prevent facilities and equipment from being wasted. These changes have to be supplemented by public efforts and an appropriate policy on the part of regional authorities that makes use of local opportunities and creates conditions for the development of individual initiatives.

During the election campaign much criticism was voiced about health care and the protection of the natural environment. Solutions to part of these problems are:

—changes in the principles governing the financing of the health service and the wages paid to health service employees,

—payment for drugs,

—the realization of central investment projects, which is undoubtedly a matter for the center. Work of this kind is under way. Some of the effects will already be felt during the second half of this year, and other results will become apparent over the course of the next 2 years.

We also expect people's councils to be particularly active in these areas. In recent years, many positive things have been achieved through local efforts. I would just mention the fact that the deterioration of the natural environment has been significantly checked and that there has even been an improvement in many regions, for example, in northeastern Poland.

However, there have been few results, or at most a modest improvement in matters relating to the more efficient use of human and material resources, better work organization, combating waste (including waste of drugs and other medical supplies), activities simply aimed at achieving more order, and the elimination of bureaucratic obstacles and senseless bureaucratic practices.

Tasks that appear to be simple on the surface are often the most difficult to accomplish. This is because they cannot be accomplished without galvanzing people into action and encouraging all kinds of regional, cooperative, and employee self-management bodies to act.

It must also be remembered that unfortunately, the widespread criticism of the functioning of state administration offices voiced by citizens and institutions is often justified. This is a problem for people's councils as well as for the government and voivodas.

The sluggish, bureaucratic habits that have accumulated and "cannot be done" attitudes have to be resolutely opposed by the Sejm, the government, and people's councils.

The introduction of the new administration cadre policy based on the resolution adopted at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum resolution means the introduction of competitive selection for managerial posts, and the employment of young people and people who are dynamic and educated.

Other issues connected with improving the services that are provided to citizens are:

—first, adjusting department and office working hours to meet citizens' needs. This campaign has been conducted in an inconsistent manner, and citizens have also failed to make use of it. People find this discouraging, but the process has to be resolutely pursued. In a few years it will become a habit;

—second, simplifying procedures involved in providing services to citizens and institutions and responding more rapidly to suggestions and complaints made by citizens;

—third, a further decentralization of powers, involving the transferal of powers enjoyed by voivodship people's councils and voivodas to primary level organs;

—fourth, the strengthening of people's councils' control functions with respect to the regional administration;

All basic suggestions and proposals concerning these matters made to the government by people's councils will be examined and put into practice promptly.

The main line of improvement in the regional administration involves directing the activities of regional offices toward organization and providing inspiration in relation to the functioning of institutions and the provision of services to citizens while constantly limiting intervention and the issuing of directives.

The implementation of the economic reform also entails demands for more efficient administration, and more independence and responsibility on the part of people's councils and regional organs of the state administration.

This background will see the emergence of new problems, which will have to be addressed and effectively solved in practice.

I would like to include the following among the more important problems that will arise:

—to what extent and how rapidly will regional structures be able to change their attitudes and activities with a view to creating new sources of finance of their own, that is, how can the struggle for distribution be turned into a struggle for income;

—will the shift to self-financing for people's councils result in a worsening of the situation in economically backward regions;

—what objective criteria be introduced for subsidies for voivodship level councils and for the subsidies provided by voivodships to primary level councils;

—can primary level people's councils become self-financing, and to what extent can they become so;

—how can the slow transfer of funds (subsidies, payments) between communes and voivodships be eliminated;

—finally, how can the functions and methods of administrative work be improved, and how can the regional cadre problem be solved, the problem of a cadre that will have to implement a new policy under new conditions?

I assure you that the center and the entire state administration attach and will continue to attach the greatest importance to solving the problems that I have described. I would be personally grateful to all chairman of people's councils if they would convey to the government and me personally all kinds of initiatives and observations that should be consistently eliminated from our sociopolitical and economic life. I can assure you that all of them will be thoroughly examined so that we can improve the system for the functioning of the economy by way of a common effort.

I would like to say that I believe that the newly elected people's councils will make a creative contribution to this process and will ensure that the best possible use is made of the intellectual and economic potential and the organizational and economic reserves that reside in the regions. This is because peoples' councils can and should become the most important sources of the development of individual voivodships.

Sulina Waste Scandal 'Culprits' Sentenced

AU1807183788 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] The trial of those involved in the illegal conclusion and implementation of contracts with the firm "Chimica-Lichtenstein" to store chemical and petrochemical waste products in the free port of Sulina and in trying to use these products in the country, was held on 15-16 July 1988, at the Bucharest Municipality Tribunal.

After the judiciary discussions, the judiciary bodies decided that the persons indicted—Kuglo Weinstein, representative of the firm "Chimica-Lichtenstein"; Nicu Mihai, Iovanescu Dumitru, and Nistor Silviu, former managers of the administration of the free port Sulina; and Virgil Popescu, Stetiu Ioan, and Ion Rupeder [as heard], former managers of the foreign trade enterprise "Chimica-Bucharest"—are guilty of serious abuses as illegal actions, as a result of which more than 4,000 tonnes of chemical and petrochemical waste products were brought to and stored in Romania, without the approval of the National Council for Environmental Protection, wastes which, during the investigations, were found to be very dangerous to the health of the population and to the environment. Likewise, the court discovered that Kuglo Weinstein received from the foreign firm a considerable sum of foreign currency in order to conclude the contract and to try to forward some quantities of these poisonous wastes to various domestic producers.

The judiciary discussions revealed that the persons indicted, departing from the responsibility incumbent on them in their various capacities, committed very serious actions by grossly violating the law provisions which forbid bringing dangerous or harmful products into the country, which were such as they endangered public health and the environment.

The trial revealed that the firm and efficient intervention of the state bodies prevented the negative consequences that could have occurred, as a result of the abuses and illegal actions of the persons indicted.

In accordance with the actions of the culprits and the danger posed by these actions, the Bucharest Municipality Tribunal, passing the sentence no. 103 of 1988, condemned the culprits: Kuglo Weinstein to 18 years of prison, Nicu Mihai to 13 years in prison, Iovanescu Dumitru to 11 years in prison, Virgil Popescu to 14 years in prison, Stetiu Ioan to 12 years in prison, Ion Rupeder to 12 years in prison, and Nistor Silviu to 11 years in prison.

In accordance with the provisions of the law, the culprits have the right of appeal.

Industrialization Process Reviewed

AU0907172588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1431 GMT 9 Jul 88

["Industrialization—An RCP Fundamental Economic Policy Option"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 9/7/1988—One of the big openings of the Ninth RCP Congress in Romania's development strategy was a new view of the country's industrialization, realistically correlated with the possibilities and necessities of the national economy.

In the twenty-three years that have since passed, the Romanian industry has been in the lead of economic growth—one of the world's most dynamic. Having decided at the same congress on about a third of the national income to go to development as a long-term option, the RCP set the orientation for the main material and financial resources. In the last four five-year periods spanning 1966-1985, more than 3,000 million lei was invested, which is about eight times as much as in the first three five-year plans of socialist construction. With that as a basis, the fixed capital in the economy—an essential part of the national wealth—is now worth about three thousand billion lei, up from 517 billion lei twenty-two years ago, which bespeaks a considerable growth of the productive capacity of industry, of the economy in general. Some nine thousand major units—productive and infrastructural—were commissioned, as thousands of industrial units were re-equipped and modernized. The result is that Romania's industry now makes in three days as much as in one year—1945—and in just 55 days the total production of 1965. Its contribution to national income-formation has gone up to 62.5 per cent, from 48.9 per cent in 1965.

Priority was given to the growth of the key industries that lead the way to progress in the whole economy. Having increased eleven times over 1966-1985, the machine-building industry accounts for 29.5 per cent of the total industrial production. Showing essential structural changes, the production of the automation and computer technology, electrical and electronic industries increased seventy times in terms of value, with that of fine mechanics and optics growing almost fifty times.

The growing machine-building production reflected on the modernization of industry as a whole, comparable to a chain reaction: 90-95 per cent of the requirements for machinery, equipment and plants are now met by the domestic industry. Products that were non-existent in 1965 are now serially made: computers, compressor refrigerators, passenger cars. In 1985, 89,393 metal-cutting and other metalworking machine tools were made. A comparison of Romania's production in that year as against 1965 showed that it made 43 times as many hydraulic presses and 8.5 times as many roller bearings, whereas the capacity of the Romanian-made sea-going ships had increased to 274 thousand dwt from 29 thousand dwt. Faster than the average industrial growth was the pace as high chemical engineering developed. The chemical and machine building industries make up 50 per cent of industrial production and exports. Romania, ranked 32nd in the world in terms of population and 75th in terms of area, is the seventh natural gas and chemical fertilizers producer, eighth in the production of caustic soda, synthetic fibre and yarn, eleventh in that of synthetic rubber and 15th in that of gasoline. All this is further evidence of the qualitative, structural changes of industry since the Ninth RCP Congress. Furthermore, it should be stressed that over 1966-1985 productivity in the all-country industry increased 3.4 times, and that in the 1981-1985 period the total industrial production growth was ascribable in a proportion of 75 per cent to a higher productivity, as a result of 6,200 new and updated technologies, new automated systems that became operational especially in the chemical, metal, heavy-equipment, machine-building, electrical and electronics industries.

During this five-year period, economic growth in Romania relies on an intensive growth of industry. In line with the directives of the 13th RCP Congress, net industrial production is to rise at an average annual rate of about 40 per cent, and its performance to increase, to meet the demands of all the branches of the national economy and the world market. Significantly, industrial productivity is planned to be twice as high in 1990 as in 1980, with 95 per cent of Romania's industrial products being of world level in terms of quality.

Need for Territorial Reorganization Stressed

AU1807154888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1407 GMT 18 Jul 88

["A Scientific Organization of the Territory—One Element of the Quality of Life" —AGERPRES headline]

[Text] An article on the above theme in newspaper SCINTEIA of 17 July by Nicolae Gheorghe and Ion Andrei Popescu from the University of Bucharest's Sociological Research Centre analyses the Romanian policy of organization of the territory in light of the demands for a more rapid economic and social development of the country.

In the early years of socialist growth in Romania, investment in industry, and house and social-cultural construction was channelled mainly to the areas where the prospects for a high return were the best. Therefore, the main recipients were large cities, and economically favoured areas through the occurrence of basic raw materials and other factors.

In twenty-three years the economic production potential has grown considerably, and basic changes were made in the distribution of the forces of production and modern housing stock in the territory. A good part of the population continued to move to urban centres which explains why the number of inhabitants of some rural settlements declined or remained the same in spite of a natural population rise. It was something normal for the development of human settlements. The question is that society should intervene to prevent objective situations of that kind from becoming socially and economically negative. The answers to the objective contradictions of the development of the territory concern first of all a demand for the quality of life and work to be as much the same for all the inhabitants of the country as is possible.

With that aim in view, an integrated and well-balanced concept of economic and social development of the territory has been formulated in the past twenty-three years, and at this stage a scientific organization of the territory programme is being worked out. This concerns more than just planning of the territory, it includes a set of measures pursuing to improve social forms of life throughout the territory, the basic factors of which are a rational administration of the land, modernization and urbanization of the settlement network, meaning that the communities the population of which has risen and do have a potential for growth will get the money for future development, growth of the local economy, house and social-cultural construction to ensure greater comfort—in terms of the living space, and economic and social activities.

A number of elements have emerged in recent years that can and must be a part of the general development process such as: a harmonious rural and urban settlement network in every county, massive investment in housebuilding and social-cultural facilities more than one thousand homes in the rural area will be built with state money during this five year period; modernization of all urban centres; investment in the rural area going to the centres where the population meets a set standard and agroindustrial productive units exist as a rule such communities are the seats of joint agroindustrial councils. That will stimulate the development of a network of urban-type rural localities around which several neighbouring communities may gravitate, with the result that these communities are given possibilities to develop and that the burden is partly taken off the urban network as far as commodity and services supply to the population is concerned. Therefore, far from forcibly bringing the evolution of rural settlements to a halt, this will stimulate the growth of the rural settlements that proved out hubs of the network of settlements, show the authors of the article who conclude: Therefore, the organization of the territory programme is a political decision-making act founded on economic and especially social factors the aim of which is to contribute to a higher quality of life, gradually bring all zones and localities of the countries to the same development level, in line with the major targets of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Ceausescu Receives Israel's Minister Sharon

AU1807185988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/07/1988—On Monday, 18 July Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Ari'el Sharon, minister of industry and trade of Israel, now on a visit to Romania.

On the occasion the Israeli minister handed over President Nicolae Ceausescu a message and conveyed him a warm salute and cordial wishes on behalf of the prime minister of the State of Israel, Yitzhaq Shamir.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the message and asked that the Israeli prime minister be conveyed his salute and best wishes.

During the interview reference was made to the relations of collaboration between Romania and Israel and emphasis was placed on the existing possibilities for their further development, of the economic cooperation and commercial exchanges in particular. It was assessed that the expansion of the Romanian-Israeli ties in the economic, technical-scientific, cultural as well as in other domains is in the interests of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

Reference was also made to international political issues, special attention being paid to the situation in the Middle East. In this framework, President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted Romania's consistent stand on the global, just and durable settlement of the situation in that region which should lead to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, to the settlement of the Palestinian people's questions by the observance of its right to self-determination—to the creation of an independent Palestinian state—to the ensurance of the integrity, sovereignty and security of all the states in the region. Emphasis was placed on the importance of calling up an international conference under UN aegis related to the Middle East issues attended by all interested sides, PLO and Israel included.

The interview was attended by Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Present was Yosef Govrin, Israel's ambassador to Bucharest.

Ceausescu Receives Departing Italian Ambassador
AU1807155388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/07/1988—On Monday, 18 July President Nicolae Ceausescu received the ambassador of the Italian Republic to Bucharest, Sergio Cattani, on ending his mission in Romania.

During the talk emphasis was placed on the good friendly and cooperative relations between Romania and Italy as well as on the wish to work for their further development in economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other domains in the interests of both countries and peoples.

The Italian ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support he was granted in fulfilling his mission in Romania.

Ceausescu Greets LCY President on Election
AU0507073188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jul 88 p 5

[Telegram by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to SFRY's Stipe Suvar, on his election as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium]

[Text] To Comrade Stipe Suvar, President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium,

On your election as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, I extend to you, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee and myself personally, warm congratulations and best wishes for success in fulfilling your highly responsible tasks in implementing the targets established by the 13th LCY Congress and the decisions of the LCY conference for the construction of the socialist society in your country.

I express the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and LCY, relations that are based on mutual trust and respect, will continue to development on manifold planes, in the spirit of understandings reached during Romanian-Yugoslav high level meetings, to the benefit of the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism, progress, and peace in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general.

RCP Message to Nelson Mandela on Birthday
AU1807154688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1416 GMT 18 Jul 88

["On Nelson Mandela's Anniversary"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/07/1988—The CC of the RCP addressed Nelson Mandela the following message:

On the anniversary of your 70th birthday we convey you the warmest congratulations and our particular appreciation for your long and staunch struggle against the apartheid regime, for the attainment of the ideals of freedom, equality and social justice of the majority population of South Africa.

The public opinion of Romania firmly requests your unconditional release as well as of all the militants imprisoned for their antiracist struggle.

We avail ourselves also of this opportunity to reiterate the firm solidarity of the Romanian Communist Party, of the whole Romanian people with the consistent struggle of the African National Congress for the union of all national patriotic forces against the policy of apartheid and racial oppression, for the implementation of deep-going changes in the country's political and social life, for an independent and democratic development along the path of progress.

Leaders' Public Appearances 3-9 Jul

AU1007150088 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 3-9 July period (time and date in parentheses—all sources Bucharest AGERPRES in English unless otherwise noted):

On 4 July, Nicolae Ceausescu received Palestinian leader George Habash. (1440 GMT 4 Jul)

On 7 July, Nicolae Ceausescu received CPCZ's Zavadil in Neptun. (1832 GMT 7 Jul)

On 8 July, Nicolae Ceausescu received a British parliamentary delegation. (1824 GMT 8 Jul)

On 9 July, Nicolae Ceausescu visited farming units in Constanta County. (1649 GMT 9 Jul)

On 4 July, Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, arrived in Prague for the CEMA session. (1844 GMT 4 Jul)

On 5 July, Constantin Dascalescu addressed the Prague CEMA session. (0649 GMT 5 Jul)

On 7 July, Constantin Dascalescu attended a meeting between CSSR's Milos Jakes and CEMA delegates in Prague. (0644 GMT 7 Jul) On the same day he addressed the Prague CEMA session. (1904 GMT 7 Jul)

On 7 July, Miu Dobrescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, visited Bulgaria. (1026 GMT 7 Jul)

On 4 July, Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, received a British parliamentary delegation. (1614 GMT 4 Jul)

On 8 July, Nicolae Giosan met with a group of British parliamentarians. (1835 GMT 8 Jul)

On 6 July, Neculai Ibanescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, was received by Libya's al-Qadhdhafi. (1027 GMT 6 Jul)

On 4 July, Cornel Pacoste, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, attended a reception given by U.S. Ambassador Kirk in Bucharest. (SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jul)

On 9 July, Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and RCP Central Committee secretary received a Mozambican Liberation Front delegation. (1444 GMT 9 Jul)

On 9 July, Foreign Minister Ioan Totu was received by Moroccan King Hassan II. (1450 GMT 9 Jul)

On 8 July, Ion Ursu, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, met with CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina. (1832 GMT 8 Jul)

Jansa Trial Opens in Ljubljana

LD1807141488 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] The trial began today in Ljubljana of Sergeant Major Ivan Borstner, the article writer Janez Jansa, and the MLADINA journalists David Tasic and Franci Zavrl. Although the hearing is not open to the public, our journalist Dragoslav Kosaric has succeeded in gathering some information;

[Kosaric] Prior to the main hearing at today's trial, the senate of the military court in Ljubljana had a meeting to decide whether the main hearing would be open to the public or not. After a short discussion the senate allowed the closest relatives of the accused to attend the main hearing. The demand that representatives of the so-called expert public, professors at the Ljubljana Law Faculty, Bavcon, Kobe and (Belet) attend the trial, was rejected. The senate did not accept the civilian lawyer of the fourth defendant, the editor of MLADINA, Franci Zavrl, who is being defended while at liberty.

According to a statement by Franci Zavrl, after today's main hearing he lodged a complaint with the Belgrade military High Court and has demanded the disqualification of the President of the Senate, Colonel Djuro Vlaisavljevic. The Belgrade military Supreme Court [as heard] will make a decision on this most probably by tomorrow because the continuation of the main hearing has been set for tomorrow morning.

Trial Adjourned

LD1807160388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 Gmt 18 Jul 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—The main hearing in the criminal case against Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, Franci Zavrl, and Ivan (known as Janez) Jansa, which began today before the Bench of Five of the Ljubljana Military Court (with the president of this court, Colonel Djuro Vlaisavljevic, presiding), was adjourned after the accused, Franci Zavrl, demanded the disqualification of the person presiding. Zavrl explained his request by refering to the alleged impassioned nature of the person presiding, and by the fact that he had not been informed officially that he does not have the right to a civilian defense laywer, and by the need for him to be supplied with a translator. Drago Demsar appeared at the trial as Franci Zavrl's lawyer.

After the Senate President refused to allow Demsar to officially defend Franci Zavrl, who is the only one being defended while at liberty, Demsar protested, and was later forcibly removed from the court room.

The trial was attended by the spouses and relatives of the accused. The presence of legal scientific workers was not permitted, and this was sharply protested by Professor Ljubo Bovcon, who demanded their presence.

At the start of the trial, the Ljubljana Committee for the Protection of Human Rights issued a statement stating it considers the trial to be illegal.

Public Urged To Protest Trial

LD1807185288 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Excerpts] As we have been reporting throughout the day, the trial of Sargeant Major Ivan Borstner, feature-writer Janez Jansa, and David Tasic and Franci Zavrl MLADINA journalists as our reporter Dragoslav Kosaric notes, the trial is closed to the public and even legal experts have not been allowed to attend.

[Kosariv] [passage omitted] According to information broadcast by Ljubljana radio and television, the committee for the Protection of Human Rights has called on the Slovene public during the period of the trial to protest at all public rallies and events by a 1-minute silence against the fact that the trial is not open to the public.

At the same time the committee has sent a letter to the delegates to the Slovene Assembly due to meet on Wednesday. The letter contends that the Assembly has not done its utmost to protect the SR of Slovenia as a sovereign state within the Yugoslav Federation.

Human Rights Committee on Trial

AU1607211188 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Before the trial of Borstner, Tasic, Zavrl, and Jansa which will begin on Monday, 18 July, the Human Rights Protection Committee adopted a statement stressing that the internal affairs organs and the military investigation and juridical organs have committed some obvious violations of the law and of proper procedure in the proceedings so far.

The statement is a summary of the 31 public releases made previously. The committee stresses, among other things, that the decision to extend the detention of Borstner, Jansa, and Tasic to the period after the investigations have been completed is unlawful.

The committee also says that it is still not clear who issued the order to search Janez Jansa's home and workplace. It emphasizes that during this case, incorrect information was issued to the public about the date of the request for the extension of detention, and the ruling of the Military Court bench approving the request was not released.

In conclusion, the committee says that no judgment passed in the absence of the public and without civilian defense counsel will be considered legal.

Foreign Ministry Hails Iranian Decision on 598

LD1807165188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—We assess Iran's decision to accept Security Council Resolution 598 as a very positive and important move toward establishing peace in the Gulf region. This was the initial, preliminary comment by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. In addition to this comment made shortly after the first reports that official Tehran had informed UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar that it accepts the Security Council resolution on cease-fire in the conflict with Iraq, TANJUG diplomatic correspondent was also told that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs was awaiting with great interest new and more detailed information that an end to the Iraq-Iran armed conflict was near.

Presidency, Others Meet on Kosovo Problem

LD1807174888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in the SFRY Presidency with the top officials from the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and from the Serbian SR. The meeting is reported to have taken place within the framework of the SFRY Presidency's regular practice to cooperate, in line with its constitutional rights and duties, with the presidencies of the republics and provinces and with other relevant organs in examining the situation in the country and its individual parts and in ensuring unity and joint efforts in resolving topical problems of society.

In addition to the SFRY Presidency members, the meeting was also attended by the president of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo, the president of the Presidium of Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the President of the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo, the president of the Presidency of Serbian SR and president of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Under discussion were the current sociopolitical situation in the SAP of Kosovo, the problems it generates in Serbia, and their effect on the overall situation in the country and its stability. Also discussed were the activities to be undertaken in the coming period to ensure that the declared policy is implemented and the tasks stemming from it fulfilled. For its part the SFRY Presidency listed the following as crucially important for stabilizing the situation in Kosovo: the creation of conditions conducive to rebuilding and enhancing intranational confidence; and the adoption of more efficient measures to guarantee personal security, safety, and equality of all the citizens in Kosovo. The absence of this guarantee is one of the main causes of the emigration of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo. In this context attention was drawn to the need for a consistent and efficient fulfilment of tasks stemming from the Yugoslav program of measures and activities to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, to speed up the return of those who had left, and to encourage all those who want to live and work in Kosovo.

Kosovo LC 'Insults' Local, Federal Leaders

AU1807155988 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Jul 88 p 2

[D.G. report: "Agenda Forgotten"]

[Text] Although the agenda of the meeting of the Gracanica LC Regional Conference held the evening before last centered upon the local implementation of the Yugoslav program for halting Serbian and Montenegrin emigration and encouraging emigrants to return, members of this body seemed to forget the agenda and preferred to deal with the constitutional changes. Insults and abuse were leveled against cadres of the commune, the SR of Serbia, the federation, and this time of Vojvodina also, from which only Radman Milosavlevic, who was present at this meeting, dissociated himself.

In his opening speech, Svetomir Dimitrievic said that the local political and security situation is unfavorable because of the activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism which exerts various forms of pressure to encourage Serbian and Montenegrin emigration, (since 1981, 417 families and 98 individuals have emigrated), because of various unsolved communal problems, and so forth. According to him, "the relevant provincial authorities and individuals in their innermost leadership are the cause of the insecure situation." Talking about the demonstration of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad, Miodrag Ivic attacked the Vojvodina leadership and Bosko Krunic, saying that their statements "suit the purposes of the Albanian separatists." Serbia must have the attributes of a state, he said, and added that if the theory that "The weaker Serbia is, the stronger Yugoslavia is" continues to be followed, then the Serbian people "may turn in its tracks." Momcilo Trajkovic, executive secretary to the Pristina LC Communal Committee, who was present at the meeting, dissociated himself from this, saying that Serbian Communists would not allow it.

After talking about the process of emigration in this area, Ziva Josifovic said that the Yugoslav program is not being carried out and that "The final hope lies in the SR of Serbia becoming a state through the constitutional changes, and guaranteeing the safety of all citizens."

Joining the discussion, Damjan Radosavlevic stressed that a turning point has been reached in tackling the problem of emigration, a process that had earlier been little more than documented by statistics. It is now necessary for progressive forces to assume the offensive, because this is the only way of recovering citizens' trust. According to Srdjan Vasic, the 1974 Constitution is to blame for the situation.

Momcilo Trajkovic said that it is tragic to talk about intranational relations on the threshold of the 21st century, because one had imagined that this problem had been overcome. We can in no way blame the Albanian people for this situation, but must blame bureaucracy and opportunism, and the LC must be called to account for allowing room for bureaucratic forces to infiltrate its ranks. Bureaucracy, he then said, is our common enemy, and the present situation demands a historic commitment to improve the deteriorated condition of intranational relations in those districts where these relations have traditionally been good.

The meeting also discussed the local commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo.

LCY Central Committee Presidium Session Opens

LD1807173788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium, in accordance with the conclusion at its last session, this afternoon opened a debate on information, stances, and assessments of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Kosovo LC Provincial committee, and the Vojvodina LC Provincial committee in connection with the arrival of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from Kosovo in Novi Sad on 9 July this year.

According to reports, after the debate at the session the LCY Central Committee Presidium will establish its assessments and stances which will be sent on the LCY Central Committee and made known to the rest of the party and the public at large.

Novi Sad LC Views Constitutional Changes

AU1807161288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Nikola Bulatovic report on the session of the Novi Sad LC City Committee]

[Text] In her introductory speech, Milka Puzigaca, executive secretary of the Novi Sad LC City Committee Presidium, explained in detail the process of reaching an accord on constitutional changes in the republic. She said that abandoning the original accord by the Serbian Assembly and the use of the majority voting system had led to disagreements about some issues and finally to an unprecedented political battle whose aim is to extract constitutional changes through pressure. The constitutional changes would reduce the socialist autonomous provinces to cultural autonomies. She also spoke about attacks on the Vojvodina leadership. According to her, these attacks are premeditated and [words indistinct] reduce the provinces' rights. In conclusion, Puzigaca stressed that in the further work on reaching an accord on constitutional changes, all opinions must be considered equally and that the republican constitution must not be changed without the provinces' consent.

It is unfortunate that right from the beginning the discussions on constitutional changes and differences expressed were characterized by very sharp tones, and that pressure was used to implement changes instead of arguments. This was stated by Nedeljko Pepic, who also said that the problems could not be solved in this way, especially through the unacceptable abuse of the (?meeting) of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee.

In a fairly long speech Zivan Berisavljevic said that there are no unimportant issues as long as disagreements about them existed, and that there are plenty of reasons to search for the best solutions. But, the road to this cannot be reached by taking away constitutional status and legality, and by imposing solutions. Berisavljevic assessed the current situation created by the discussions on constitutional changes as the wave of nationalist attacks and the flood of oppositionist views. We have pursued two courses of discussion so far, a legitimate course, which was pursued by us, and the other course which results in unacceptable solutions; its essence is anti-socialist. Berisavljevic devoted a part of his speech to, as he said, [word indistinct] Serbia as other republics.

[Begin Berisavljevic recording] I think that, according to the constitutional-political logic, this is a completely acceptable thesis. The SR of Serbia cannot have fewer rights than other republics. But a complex republic such as the SR of Serbia, unless somebody intends to abolish its complex character—which is (?objectively speaking a result of its history)—must be equal to other republics in a different way. It must be accepted that Serbia has constituted itself, through the will of elements [subjektiviteti] called Kosovo and Vojvodina, as a sociopolitical commune, as a republic which is a state on the territory which the SR of Serbia has never had before. [end recording]

Ugljesa Popovic addressed the veterans of the First Proletarian Brigade and said that in Vojvodina there are also many veterans from all brigades and that they had fought shoulder to shoulder with the First Proletarian Brigade, and that they do not have the right to attack the Vojvodina leadership.

Pero Zubac opined that nobody in Vojvodina had attacked the Serbian people and the republican leadership.

Daily Comments on Belgrade-Novi Sad Dispute

LD1807165988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Jul (TANJUG0—"It is becoming increasingly clear that the arrival in Novi Sad of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo—whether this is termed merely an arrival or a political demonstration—has opened a new page in the solution of the Kosovo problem, which is also a Yugoslav problem. The LCY Central Committee Presidium will today, therefore, be making one of its most difficult examinations—an examination on the Yugoslav party leadership—not so much about what the Novi Sad events were but about what questions they have opened up and what questions they can open up in the future," says today's VJESNIK, adding:

"It is more important than anything else to be clear about the assessment as to whether this is a dispute between two sides with shared ideological positions or whether this is a dispute between two sides from opposing ideological positions—one which is for a federal Yugoslavia of equal nations and nationalities and the other which is for "the flaring-up of the old myth about a single orthodox state in the Balkans"—or whether the break-up of Yugoslavia is advocated, or the creation of a third Yugoslavia, or its organization on the principles of unitary unity. In a word, are we for sticking to an AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia or to some other kind of set-up", VJESNIK emphasizes, and adds:

"It is also important to be clear about whether, in the speeches by party officials, the ideas of the memorandum and the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression are really being elaborated; the latter is seeking verification of Tito's personality and accomplishments but in doing this very thing it is writing out the biggest bill of indictment against him, and is placing Tito's responsibility for the present-day fate of the Serbian people at the top of the indictment."

Vojvodina Presidium Upset With Serbian Session

LD1807145088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 18 July (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium is dissatisfied with the substance of the last Serbian LC Central Committee session of 14 July. It is particularly dissatisfied with the way the session was conducted, and over the fact that the LCY Central Committee Presidium's appeal for demonstrations by Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad to not be discussed in public until that body's meeting—so as to prevent emotions from being stirred up even more—was ignored. The Vojvodina LC Provisional Committee Presidium enabled the Yugoslav public to be briefed on the discussion during the last session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, held on 13 July. This is reported by 'DNEVNIK' in its issue today in an article entitled "The Politics that are Not that of 'POLITIKA' alone".

Having been briefed on everything that was said during the Serbian LC Central Committee session, the Provincial Committee Presidium of the Vojvodina LC released the material from the Provincial Committee session. The journalists informed their editorial boards about it all. 'DNEVNIK' says that some papers, for instance 'POLITIKA', simply ignored the session of the Vojvodina LC's highest body. "However, it published a lengthy, spiteful commentary on everything said during the Provincial Committee session (in doing so, apparently, spoiling the Sunday day off for many of its readers)".

Forget the fact that this paper ('POLITIKA') on this occasion acted like it did not appreciate the common sense of its readers, that it began to interpret facts without giving them beforehand. Perhaps it thinks its readers have boundless faith in it; yet these are times when negligibly few people are inclined to believe someone's words alone...says 'DNEVNIK'.

'DNEVNIK' wonders why individual leaders, or others acting on their behalf, believe that the criticism made of them is an attack on Serbs and Serbia. If there is one who thinks that, then one must note that this has been normal behavior by all potentates from time immemorial; they always claim they are in fact the nation because they know what the people think and what the people need. However, every elementary school student knows what these patriots did to their people and what happened to them.

While yesterday's 'POLITIKA' was still being printed, 'DNEVNIK' observes, "spontaneous" and "short and sincere" meetings of workers began to be held across Serbia during which assessments were made saying "that the Serbia SR leadership speaks the language of the Serb people and of the working class and that it is faithfully interpreting their demands." In a nutshell, these meetings demonstrate that the political tension is increasing and that passions own the people. All these things taken together create a picture vividly reminiscent of the erstwhile mass movement 'workers' support for the republican leadership." As was seen afterwards, this leadership was only a part of the wave of nationalistic errors and dangerous power proclivities. This tension easily engenders new condemnations that trigger off an avalanche of unpleasant questions. The question of factionalism in the LC was mentioned and brought up, among other things, during the joint session yesterday of the SAWP city conference and of the Belgrade trade unions city council. Of course, this was done as part of the attacks on the provincial political leadership, but it would have been more honest and more meaningful if it had been brought up in more general terms. This way alone can reestablish the disrupted unity of the LC, says 'DNEVNIK'.

Belgrade Veterans Call For Krunic's Resignation

AU1807204788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Today, at an expanded session of the Belgrade Veterans Organization, veterans reacted to the Vojvodina's comments on the visit by Kosovo citizens to Novi Sad and to the discussion of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee at an allegedly closed session.

They expressed a unanimous view that Bosko Krunic and Petar Matic be relieved of their duties as the member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the president of the Veterans Organization of Yugoslavia respectively. The veterans also sent a telegram to the LCY Central Committee Presidium in which they stated among other things the following:

Because of the newly created and very serious situation, divisions in the country's leadership and the LCY, we energetically demand that further division of the LCY and the SFRY be halted, and that the highest political organ of Yugoslavia takes all the measures to foil the continuation of negative trends which threaten us with an even greater division of our socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, and the further deepening of the crisis.

The Presidium of the Belgrade Veterans Organization pointed out that these events have disturbed and irritated the veterans' organization of the capital city, primarily because these events, unfortunately, continue to be damaging for the unity and trust among the leading communists at the time when discussions on constitutional changes are being held in the SR of Serbia and prior to the introduction of economic reforms.

Belgrade Meeting Formulates Reaction to Vojvodina

LD1707134688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 July (TANJUG)—Reaction to attacks by the Vojvodina leadership on the leadership of the SR of Serbia was the only item on the agenda today of the joint meeting of the presidium of the Belgrade SAWP city conference and the city council of the federation of Belgrade trade unions. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the sociopolitical life of the city and Belgrade University, the president of the Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts, and others.

In his introductory speech, Dragan Tomic, president of the presidium of the Belgrade city SAWP conference, said that one of the reasons for calling this meeting was because of the reaction of the working people and citizens to the publication of the disucssion during the closed session of the provincial committee of the LC of Vojvodina. He said that further evaluations concerning the arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad were also a subject of controversy. He recalled that the presidium of the Belgrade city SAWP conference had set out clear stands on this issue.

Petar Skundric, who was the first one to speak in the debate, suggested that the agenda be rephrased, and that it not be entitled "Reaction to the Attacks on the Leadership" but "On the Policy of the LC of Serbia." This was approved immediately.

Belgrade Veterans Criticize Slovenia, Stanovnik

AU1407183088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 88 p 6

[V. Vujic report: "Counterrevolution Can Be Negated, But Facts Are Unyielding"]

[Text] The members of the City Committee of the Belgrade Veterans Organization yesterday discussed a report on the work of the City Assembly, the Executive Council, and the city administrative organs in the past year, as well as the current economic and sociopolitical situation. Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly, made an opening speech in which he spoke about economic difficulties in Belgrade. The material conditions for restructuring the economy were modest, as were the changes.

The economic and political reforms are necessary for the successful completion of the jobs that are facing the capital city, Bakocevic stressed. We need to invest efforts for practical changes, changes in the spirit of the LCY Conference and the LCY Central Committee Commission for Reforms in the Economic System. Bakocevic said that the reforms must not be allowed to experience the fate of previous reforms. Society must curb counterrevolutionary activity and must ensure that a "Trojan horse" containing a multiparty system is not planted.

The economic and social situation in Belgrade can no longer be seen outside the context of the entire situation in Yugoslavia, not only because Belgrade is the capital city, but because it is a "miniature Yugoslavia," Pero Lalovic said. This year marked the greatest escalation of anti-Yugoslav, anti-self-managing, and anticommunists forces. We have created eight states which have erected barriers against each other, not only through geographical borders, but also through the wall of mistrust, suspicion, and egoism. This threatens the survival of every other part, and Yugoslavia as a whole. Since Tito's departure, we have been systematically and irrepressibly losing trust, as well as our reputation as a people, a system, and a movement. Nationalism of all kinds is emerging, and in our conditions any kind of nationalism represents a real or potential counterrevolution.

It is worrying, Lalovic said, that an attempt is being made to minimize the increasing cases of excess behavior expressed through fascist slogans, as was the case in Kosovo in 1968. The premeditated break in at a military command in order to take confidential military documents represents a special kind of impudence. The reaction by the state and military organs inflamed anti-Army hysteria and led to the dangerous manipulation with the recent cultural youth gathering in Ljubljana. On this occasion some unacceptable statements were made, but the most dangerous thing was the speech made by Janez Stanovnik in which he subtly called an active general a liar. If he was wrong, he cannot be spared the political and legal responsibilities.

Lalovic said that the last Slovene LC Central Committee session criticized the present situation, and also denied the presence of an anti-Yugoslav and antiseparatist mood, counterrevolution, a special war, and anti-Army hysteria.

Vaso Radulovic said that veterans expect the Slovene people to oppose ugly views and acts, especially attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army. The highest Yugoslav state and party leaderships are expected to take measures to curb such behavior in Slovenia. Radulovic invited Stefan Korosec and some other people from Slovenia, as well as the representatives of the Slovene veterans organization to come to Belgrade and talk about the situation in Slovenia, Ljubljana, Belgrade, and Serbia.

What else need happen in Slovenia in order for things to be called by their proper name?—Stevo Dokmanovic asked. The state and party leadership should take a clear stand on this by means of their action and views. The Yugoslav People's Army and the achievements of our revolution are attacked and other nationalities are insulted in the name of democracy.... These are nothing but fascist methods of counterrevolution, Aleksandar Vukovic said, asking the Federal Council of the Veterans Organization to take a clear stance toward these issues.

There is no doubt that a special war is being waged against our country, Zdenko Has said. Only its forms and intensity are different. The counterrevolution by the bureaucracy cannot be disputed either. What is happening in Slovenia has the same characteristics as the events in Croatia in 1970 and 1971. At that time in Croatia, attempts were made to soften the events and blame the media for everything. The counterrevolution in Slovenia can be negated, but the facts are unyielding, Has said, stressing that a counterrevolution could only be curbed through a battle in one's own territory.

Dizdarevic: No Retreat From Reforms

LD1507212888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Pula, July 15 (TANJUG)—The economic and social reform which Yugoslavia has started or intends to start will not be short-term or without difficulties, but there will be no retreating from that strategic determination, Yugoslav Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic said today in a talk with the PULA leadership and representatives of the Uljanik shipyard.

Dizdarevic also noted that some had already become anxious that the economic measures had not provided more visible results yet.

He warned that explosive expression of dissatisfaction in some work organisations cannot be permitted, but that the serious social reforms which are to be implemented must be explained to the workers as well as the consequences if it is not implemented consistently.

BORBA Views CEMA Internal Relations

AU1507192088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 88 p 3

[Dragan Vukcevic commentary: "(Dis)agreement in Prague"]

[Text] The illusory 40-year peace in CEMA has disappeared. The last 3-day conference in Prague (at the presidential level) unequivocably demonstrated this. Unananimity among the ten Eastern countries was not reached on everything, but the group leaned toward a deep-rooted reform of cooperation.

At this time, it could not have been otherwise. Above all, the seven European countries do not have the same views on internal national reform: The Soviet Union and Hungary are for quicker and radical reforms; Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Poland are for gradual reforms; and the GDR and Romania have not approached reforms because they do not think that they are necessary.

The positions of the three CEMA member countries outside Europe—Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam—are also different. Last year, Mongolia favored its own national reform and a reform of CEMA, Cuba favored maintaining the present situation of exchange and aid, and Vietnam went the farthest, demanding the impossible: making conditions and the level of development even for all member countries. With this, it has excluded its own responsibility for the misuse of the huge amount of aid that CEMA members have given it for development.

The principle of the "voluntary nature of CEMA" was reiterated many times at the Prague meeting, because this has become current at a time when complete accord is lacking. When he put forward his idea of the necessity of a deep-rooted reform of the East European group, Mikhail Gorbachev said in 1986 that those who did not want to or would not keep in step with the times did not have to, but "they should not hinder the others." Most of the CEMA member countries accepted the Soviet leader's attitude, but some members loudly disputed it.

Romania used its right to be disinterested in its own social and economic perestroyka [Russian word for "restructuring" used] and the reform of CEMA, rejecting the idea of creating a single market in the future. This was not a surprise, but such an attitude also brings with it disagreement with other measures planned by CEMA, like making the national currencies convertible, having direct negotiations and an exchange of goods between enterprises in the member countries, and changing the system of prices, etc.

All this ran its course for years, indeed, slowly and inefficiently, so that the stance in Prague that the mechanism of future relations in the East European group must be uniform at all levels and in all forms of cooperation was adopted by a vote of nine to one. The following standpoint was also adopted as an opportunity to consider and decide: "The reform of the mechanism of cooperation is a gradual process which will be realized in line with internal and external circumstances and the interest of individual member countries."

Above all else—the different opinions, ambitions, polemics, and "the establishment of what is and what is not in line with socialist principles"—the stance was adopted that if CEMA wants to progress, it is more necessary now then ever before "to make cooperation more economic." In other words, laws of economics must be established among the member countries, which are imposed by the nature of the incipient social and economic reforms in the majority of East European countries.

Little has been done in the 3 years from the idea of perestroyka in CEMA to the Prague conference. Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, expressed regret that "there has been no progress whatsoever," and warned that changes can only come about if all ten countries work toward reforms. Ryzhkov's cautious warning, which was probably unnecessary at this point, was made clear by Jozsef Marjai, Hungarian deputy premier, when he said that, as it is now, CEMA is increasingly becoming an "obstacle to the reforms."

If radical changes do not take place, Marjai continued, CEMA will not be the "thrust" of the so-called socialist community, but its brake in the processes of restructuring the economy. A smaller number of countries have different outlooks on changes in the relations in CEMA, so the stance which was insisted on by the USSR and Hungary was repeated so that, in the future, there can be no "uniform pattern of economic management" in the CEMA member countries. This was a response to the GDR and Romania which maintain centralistic management, as well as to Cuba, to which a centralistic system of exchange within the framework of CEMA is suited.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—whose name could also be discussed, as it is becoming increasing ill-suited to the nature of its reform—cannot remain a closed economic organization. Primarily because the relations in it must be ruled by laws of economics. Talking in Prague about relations between CEMA and Yugoslavia whose exchange has fallen in the last 2 years, Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president, hinted at the possibility of more successful mutual cooperation which would be founded on CEMA reforms, as well as on changes in the Yugoslav economy.

Such conditions must, of course, be created for cooperation between CEMA and the EEC, since their recent mutual recognition. This is a step toward the creation of a "common European home," based on the interests of not just the two economic groups, but also of the countries which do not belong to them. However, this is also a step toward the scrapping of political barriers on "the old continent," which have slowed down the processes of cooperation between peoples.

TANJUG Reports Economic Statistics

LD1607020088 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1445 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav firms' exports to some 130 countries stood at 5 billion 877 million dollars in the first half of this year.

The Federal Statistics Office in Belgarde said today that the exports were 15.78 percent higher than in the same period of last year.

A continuous rise is also recorded in exports to countires with convertible currencies with exports standing at 20.1 percent higher and exports to industrially developed countries standing at 27.5 percent higher.

Significantly smaller rise was recorded in exports to East European countries, mainly to the Soviet Union with which Yugoslavia has a clearing manner of accounting for exports and imports. The main obstacle for exports to that market is the 1.2 billion dollar surplus Yugoslavia achieved last year.

Yugoslav exports to those countries rose by 3.5 percent in the first half of the year.

Yyugoslav firms set aside large parts of their foreign earnings to repay Yugoslavia's 20 billion dollar debt. For that reason, their imports are 0.4 percent lower this year compared to last with spendings standing at five billion 954 million dollars.

The Federal Statistics Office said today that the country's industrial production was 1.7 percent lower in the past six months than in the same period last year.

However, production in June was 4.5 percent higher than in May which shows that a long-awaited revival of the production has begun. But, the June production could not make up for the bad results at the start of the year.

The highest production increase was recorded by the Yugoslav shipbuilding industry—9.1 percent—and the greatest drop in production by the tobacco industry—14.6 percent.

Consumer prices were 21.1 percent higher in June than in May. That resulted primarily from the lifting of the freeze on prices which were under administrative control to the end of May.

Inflation at the end of June compared to June last year stood at 175.5 percent.

The price hike negatively affected tourism in the country. The number of domestic tourists was four percent lower in the first half of the year with domestic tourists accounting for 13.4 million overnight stays. Foreigners accounted for 18 million overnight stays or only one percent less than in the first half of last year.

Yugoslavia earned over three billion dollars from foreign tourists last year.

The statistics office predicts a one percent increase in foreign tourists' overnight stays to the end of August, to a total of 42 million overnight stays.

Poll Measures Reaction to Economic Crisis

LD1707143088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0920 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Zagreb, July 17 (TANJUG)—Two-thirds of Yugoslavs believe that Yugoslavia will surmount its current economic and social crisis, but half of them (or 53 per cent) hold that this would not happen soon.

These are some of the results of the latest series of polls conducted by a group of pollsters from the Yugoslav city of Zagreb with the objective of establishing what people think about how the crisis can be overcome. The results also show that the number of those affected by the crisis is rising.

Nearly 61 per cent of Yugoslav households expect to live worse this year than in 1987, 32 per cent expect the quality of life to remain the same as last year, while only seven per cent—or every 14th household—hope to live better this year than the last.

Despite the fact that the results reflect subjective stands, they can nevertheless be taken as representing the voice of the people on many important questions.

Nearly two-thirds of the households included in the surveys hold that their earnings are more or less insufficient to cover regular costs and needs.

The facts concerning living standards are also indirectly reflected in the results of a poll conducted last April on the structure and amount of monthly earnings—nearly one-third (or 31 per cent) of those polled have monthly pay ranging between 300,000 and 500,000 dinars (125-500 U.S. dollars), 23 per cent receive between 150,000 and 300,000 dinars, while six per cent earn only 150,000 dinars (about 60 dollars).

According to pollsters, these indicators also confirm the need to go ahead with reforms which would—after inevitable initial difficulties caused by a transition to market economy—eventually bring about a more sound economic growth and thus help improve living standards.

Government Proposes Increased Military Budget

LD1307220988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1432 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government submitted a proposal to the federal parliament on increasing the country's military budget from 3,730.2 to 4,924.8 billion dinars (from 1 billion 360 million to almost 2 billion dollars).

Colonel-General Nikola Cubura, head of the Defence Ministry's Financial Department, told TANJUG that the increase is only a revalorisation of the military budget based on a re-estimate of the country's national income this year.

Yugoslavia's national income was estimated at 77,734 billion dinars (around 30 billion dollars) when the 1988 budget was adopted.

The Federal Social Planning Institute assessed recently that the national income will be 28.2 percent higher, and requested a revision of the federal budget. Military expenses are a part of the budget.

Yugoslavia sets aside 5.2 percent of its national income to finance the military. This year, the amount will be lowered by five percent.

The proposed revision of the Yugoslav budget will be discussed by the federal parliament late this month.

Court Rejects Appeal on Military Service

LD1807120588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1037 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav constitutional court has not accepted the initiative by a group of citizens from the Slovenian city of Maribor to evaluate the constitutionality of the legal articles on military service and in that respect a part of the penal code, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes today.

The initiative sets out that the one-year compulsory military service in Yugoslavia is an insult to the freedom of thought, determination and faith because the law does not exclude believers from serving in the military despite their religious convictions which do not allow them to belong to other organizations, including military ones.

Rejecting the initiative of the group of citizens from Maribor, the Yugoslav constitutional court concluded that the constitution and the laws guarantee everyone freedom of thought, determination and faith and that the religious convictions of members of religious communities do not give them rights greater than those of other Yugoslav citizens.

There have been several proposals for a "civilian" military service in Yugoslavia in recent years. The Slovenian youth organization on one occasion publicly proposed that members of religious communities, whose religious convictions are incompatible with military service, be allowed to serve their military service in non-army posts. The proposal was not accepted.

In Yugoslavia, the church is separate from the state. Members of all the religious communities in Yugoslavia, a total of 51 including the largest—the orthodox, Catholic and Islamic, enjoy the same legal rights.

Kragujevac Veterans Support Serb Call

LD1707145988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Kragujevac, 17 July (TANJUG)—Kragujevac war veterans support the demand by the section of the first proletarian and other brigades and of the Serb Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia [SUBNOR] that Petar Matic be replaced as Yugoslav SUBNOR president. This stance was set out today during the special session of the SUBNOR municipal board, which was attended by more than 500 participants in the war. During the session, Petar Matic's latest statement at the session of the provincial committee of the LC of Vojvodina was denounced and the stands advocated by the leadership of the LC of Serbia endorsed because the war veterans hold the same views. In addition, the Serb leadership was asked not to deviate from the road along which the war veterans have embarked.

Bosko Krunic, Djordje Stojisic, Djordje Radosavljevic, and other autonomists, as they called them, were also mentioned by name. Instead of trying to obtain agreement and unity, they behave in a bureaucratic and separatist way and are fighting for power and cushy jobs [fotelj], not for the interest and will of the people from whom they have become separated.

Minic Addresses Serbian Plenum

LD1507100388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 14 Jul 88

[TEXT] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—Divisions in nationalistic veins have spread over even some leading bodies in Yugoslavia and this is making it more difficult to campaign against counter-revolution in the province of Kosovo. Milomir Minic, executive secretary of the Presendency of the League of Communists of Serbia (LCS) Central Committee, said here today.

In his introductory remarks at a party plenum of communists of the Republic of Serbia, eastern Yugoslavia, discussing the implementation of conclusions reached at preceding plenary meetings and of the Yugoslav program for Kosovo (adopted in mid-1987), Minic cautioned that ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists are at the threshold of reaching their goal of having an "ethnically clean" Kosovo, whereas Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo are at the threshold of collectively moving out of Kosovo under a growingly aggressive and perfidous pressure.

Some 30,000 local Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the province of Kosovo since 1981 under counter-revolutionary pressures being brought to bear by ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists. The Province of Kosovo is, like the Province of Vojvodina, a constituent part of the Republic of Serbia. Local Muslims, Turks and Roms (Gypsies), too, have come under such pressures aimed, in the end, at creating an ethnically clean republic and uniting it with neighbouring Albania.

Of late and, particularly so, in discussion of constitutional changes in Yugoslavia, disagreements and significant differences have come up in assessing causes of dramatic developments in Kosovo and the composition of The Republic of Serbia whose state competences in essential matters have practically been taken over by its provinces. This is why the situation in Kosovo is to be discussed at a plenary meeting of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) at its session on July 29.

The CLS high official told the new plenum that the Republic of Serbia was giving big financial and expert aid to the province of Kosovo, that work was done more and in a better organised way last year there, but, despite efforts exerted and some undisputable results. Moving out went on and hostile activities gained in strength. The overall number of Serbs and Montenegrins in terms of Kosovo's all-in population has fallen under 10 percent (it amounted to nearly a quarter of the Kosovo population before the riots) and several municipalities have already become ethnically completely "clean." He adduced figures.

As causes for the Yugoslav policy's failure in Kosovo, Minic marked several years of opportunism and giving in to actions by ethnic Albanian chauvinists, particularly so by Kosovo's provincial leadership, qualifying it as shut-in, inefficient, and as using wrong methods.

This was why Minic pressed for a quick and radical transformation of the League of Communists of Kosovo, for finding who is individually and collectively to bear responsibility and for doing away with differences.

Executive Secretary Minic denounced Serbian chauvinism and misuse of discontent felt among Kosovo's Serbs and Montenegrins as well. The League of Communists of Serbia (LCS) deals by way of arguments with anti-Albanian and revenge-seeking moods.

He stood up, however, against these, saying that gatherings, protests, and demonstrations by Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia are also chauvinist-minded. Instead of insistence on one's own rights, reasons for lack of security, equality, and tranquillity should be put on the agenda, Minic said.

Wondering why ethnic Albanian intellectuals in Kosovo are still silent when it comes to real causes and consequences of the counter-revolution in Kosovo and the tragedy of Serbs and Montengrins in Kosovo, Minic came out in favour of a further political differentiation within the party, pointing out that this would contribute to unity Yugoslavia-wide.

Serbian Speaker Denounces 'Alienated' Structures

AU0707104188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The Uprising Day of the peoples and nationalities of Serbia is being celebrated all over the Republic with many festivities. A traditional people's meeting is held at Bela Crkva near Valjevo, where the first rifle was fired in Serbia on this day 47 years ago. The meeting was addressed by Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Presidency of Serbia.

Mitrovic devoted a major part of his speech to the present and the future of our Republic. It is clear to everybody that the future of Serbia will be seriously shaken without radical constitutional changes, Mitrovic said. The upset among the so-called bureaucratic sociopolitical structures, in general divorced from the people, shows how easy and even comfortable it is to overlook life, real life; life of the times and life of the people.

These structures, Mitrovic added, even divide up a people into separate parts and preach their interests on the basis of such divisions. These are the facts, and the language of the facts cannot be replaced by a language of accusations, suspicions, and untruths. The understandable differences between the provinces and the Republic cannot be solved if there is no readiness to accept reality, and in order for us to be be better off, everything that constitutes an obstacle should be removed, Mitrovic said.

When we speak of all, we must think of the people, and not of alienated bureaucratic representatives who allegedly speak on behalf of the people. Therefore, the forthcoming discussions about changes in the Constitution of Serbia cannot end up in the private offices of current officials, as often happened in the past, Aleksandar Mitrovic concluded.

Albanian Delegation to SFRY Assembly Criticized

AU1807145088 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 13 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Demolition of Walls Used as a Front"]

[Text] The meeting the day before yesterday of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Committee Commission for Intranational Relations, chaired by Dusko Djordjiev, examined certain issues presented by the group of citizens of Albanian nationality from various villages in Kumanovo Commune, on the occasion of their journey to the SFRY and Macedonian Assemblies. It was observed that the above-mentioned groups undertook this step in an organized, premeditated way, with advance preparation and a specific political aim, and that the near future is expected to reveal that persons acting from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism stood behind this group as organizers. This is witnessed by the fact that the group presented the demolition of high walls as the main issue and demanded the revocation of the decision of the Communal Assembly on this subject. The group simultaneously presented issues involving the alleged inequality of the Albanian nationality in the commune, stressing the interruption of instruction through the medium of the Albanian language for Albanian students in secondary schools, the use of place names, the naming of newborn children of Albanian nationality, and discrimination against members of the Albanian nationality in employment.

During the discussion in which Sefedin Sulejmani, Lazo Krstevski, Shaban Shehu, Shukri Ramo, Mustafa Alushevski, and Naum Dimovski took part, it was said, among other things, that the Communal Assembly's decision to demolish the high walls around houses had been given out publicly, and the commune's inhabitants had been informed. The reasons for this decision had been assessed by the commune alongside the local sociopolitical circumstances. The Macedonian and SFRY Constitutional Courts had also assessed its legal and judicial basis. Moreover, the decision to demolish the walls applied to everybody, regardless of nationality, despite the tendentious and malevolent way in which the Albanian nationalists and separatists portray it as supposedly applying only to the Albanian nationality.

It was later said that there was no formal obstacle to creating special classes for children of Albanian nationality in which instruction would be carried out in the Albanian language; they can be formed in any school if the necessary conditions laid down by the law are met. Where there is an insufficient number of children and qualified teachers, it is not sensible to create such classes as long as the required conditions are not fulfilled. Of 900 pupils in Kumanovo Commune who have completed their primary education in the Albanian language, only 120 have offered themselves for enrollment in the secondary schools, and this number, it was underlined at the meeting, is not enough to form Albanian-language classes.

The way in which the issue of place names was put on the agenda by the group of citizens from the Kumanovo region, it was later said in the discussion, reinforces the impression that this activity conceals a tendency to legalize the phenomenon of Albanianizing place names, which is an integral part of the ambition of those Albanians who act from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. As for the issue of naming newborn children, it was said that the allegations are untrue. It is well-known that only those infants' names showing signs of Albanian nationalism and separatism had been politically condemned.

It was also said at the meeting the evening before last that the assertion that the members of the Albanian nationality in Kumanovo Commune suffer any kind of inequality is tendentious and aims to destroy the togetherness of Macedonians, Albanians, and members of other peoples and nationalities, as well as the brotherhood and unity that was built during the National Liberation War.

Algerian Foreign Minister Arrives

LD1507175788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jul (TANJUG)—Ahmet Taleb Ibrahimi, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, arrived in Belgrade today on a working visit. At Surcin Airport, the guest from Algeria was welcomed by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The two foreign ministers are expected to discuss the activities of nonaligned countries, as well as the hotbeds of crisis and the situation in the Mediterranean.

Loncar Receives Ibrahimi

LD1607154188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1157 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, and Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi today had detailed talks over several hours on bilateral cooperation between the two countries, the most topical world events, and the activity of nonaligned countries.

Special attention was devoted to international relations and the role of nonaligned countries whose activity, it was said, should be adapted to modern processes and be focused on resolving the most topical political and economic problems. In this connection, the two sides also discussed concrete questions on the preparation of the nonaligned ministerial meeting in Cyprus this fall.

The guest from Algeria, who arrived in Yugoslavia yesterday to discuss close cooperation and constructive and continual dialogue between the two countries, briefed his hosts on the results of the recent Arab summit in Algeria. He also spoke about the idea of Maghreb integration and the normalization of relations between Algeria and Morocco.

During the dialogue there was also a discussion on crises hotbeds—the Middle East, the problems of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, southern Africa, Central America, and others. Special attention was devoted to international economic problems and the problem of debts. The foreign ministers of the SFRY and Algeria—as two Mediterranean countries—also exchanged views on the topical processes in this region and the activities of nonaligned countries from the Mediterranean.

Budimir Loncar briefed his guest on events in the Balkans within the context of the recent meeting of the foreign ministers of this region.

Both sides assessed the dialogue as constructive and mutually beneficial.

The Algerian foreign minister is also expected to have talks with other Yugoslav officials during his visit to Yugoslavia.

Dizdarevic, Ibrahimi Hold Talks

LD1807042588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2036 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, July 17 (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, and Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, Algerian foreign minister, exchanged their views here this evening on bilateral cooperation, non-aligned countries' activities, international economic relations, and the developing countries' debts.

Their talk this evening confirmed a deep friendship and a high level of the identity of stands between Algeria and Yugoslavia on present-day international trends and the need for the Non-aligned Movement to go on playing the historical role of importance it has played for thirty years now as the policy of peace, dialogue, cooperation, and democratization of internaitonal relations.

Within this framework, both sides laid stress on the significance of further strengthening bilateral relations between Algeria and Yugoslavia, particularly on agreement to continue maintaining their top-level dialogue.

The development of international relations obligates Algeria and Yugoslavia as well as other non-aligned countries to realize within the Non-aligned Movement their role in the next decade, adjust and up-to-date their methods of activity on the basis of authentic principles and goals which have confirmed their historical value.

In this respect there is a full agreement that the forthcoming ministerial non-aligned conference on Cyprus is an exceptionally important development and that it should give fresh initiatives and ideas about how to further strengthen peace in the world, for a stepped-up economic, scientific, and technological development of the developing countries for solving the problem of foreign debts.

Further Report

LD1807224488 Algiers APS in English 1000 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 July (APS)—Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, who is paying a friendship and working visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of his counterpart, Budimir Loncar, was audienced Sunday here by the Yugoslav president, Raif Dizdarevic, to whom he handed a message from President Chadli Bendjedid. On this occasion, the two sides reviewed the main regional questions related with principles of the non-aligned movement and the role the two countries can play in this movement, which is a propitious frame to the settlement of present tensions. Dizdarevic and Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi expressed satisfaction about the fruitful cooperation between the two countries which will be developed and enlarged thanks to possibilities existing on both sides in various sectors.

They also put the stress on the necessity to intensify bilateral cooperation in conformity to principles of South-South cooperation and coordination and consultation between the two countries at the bilateral level and in international organizations.

Dizdarevic Receives Visiting Angolan Minister

LD1307215888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 13 Jul 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—International relations have entered a stage of intensified dialogue which allows for an optimistic view of possibilities for resolving the problems that burden the contemporary world, including the problem of Africa's south, Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic said today in a talk with Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Van Dunem Mbinda, who is currently visiting Yugoslavia.

Dizdarevic pointed to the need for the further engagement of the movement of non-alignment in resolving world problems and particularly development problems in Africa and the rest of the world.

Dizdarevic and Mbinda urged the promotion of bilateral economic relations and discussed the situation in southern Africa and the problems facing Angola in its efforts to oppose the aggressive actions of the Pretoria racist regime.

The Angolan foreign minister informed Dizdarevic of the quadrilateral talks on southern Africa which are currently under way in New York. He expressed the hope that they will lead to Namibia's independence, based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 435, and to establishing peace in Angola.

Mbinda, an MPLA-Workers' Party Politburo member, today had talks with Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the top Yugoslav party leadership.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the two parties' cooperation and pointed to the need for and possibilities of its further promotion.

Tuporkovski stated the principled support of Yugoslavia's party and peoples for the efforts the MPLA and the peoples of Angola are investing in the defence of their independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

Van Dunem Delivers Message

MB1407063488 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Yesterday, SFRY President Raif Dizdarevic received a message from Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola. Angolan External Relations Minister Afonso Van Dunem delivered the message during a meeting with SFRY President Raif Dizdarevic in Belgrade yesterday.

Also in the Yugoslav capital, the Angolan external relations minister met with Branko Mikulic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, exchanging views on bilateral relations and the international situation in general and the situation in southern Africa in particular.

Within the context of his diplomatic activity in the SFRY, External Relations Minister Afonso Van Dunem leads the Angolan delegation to the seventh session of the joint Angolan-Yugoslav cooperation commission.

Van Dunem Meets Mikulic

LD1307215388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Angolan political relations are very good and significant possibilities and mutual interest exist in widening economic cooperation, Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic and Angola's Foreign Minister Alfonso Van Dunen Mbinda assessed today.

Mbinda is on a several-day visit to Yugoslavia.

Mbinda positively assessed the work of Yugoslav builders in Angola, and Mikulic mentioned Yugoslav interest in realising investment projects in the country. They specially underscored the significance of direct cooperation between the two countries' economists, supported by both governments.

Mbinda informed Mikulic of the latest developments in Angola and the four-party negotiations on Namibia in New York.

Suvar Receives French CP Official

LD1607022088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1803 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia's (LCY) cooperation with the French Communist Party (PCF) is traditionally good, Yugoslav party President Dr Stipe Suvar and PCF Secretary and Politburo member Maxim Gremetz assessed in Belgrade today. Both sides expressed interest in promoting cooperation.

Gremetz and LCY Presidency Member Vasil Tupurkovski discussed current affairs in France and Yugoslavia and international affairs. They paid special attention to integration processes in Western Europe and their implications on the policies of the West European left.

Defense Secretary Visits Zagreb

LD1607040488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Colonel-General Veljko Kadijevic, federal defense secretary, who together with his assistants is paying a 2-day visit to the command, units, and institutions of the Zagreb Army District, today held talks in Zagreb with leaders of sociopolitical organs and organizations of the SR of Croatia. Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia; Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium; Jelko Runjic, president of the Assembly of the SR of Croatia; Antun Milovic, president of the Croat Assembly's Executive Council; and other officials took part in the talks with the federal secretary on topical questions of developing the system of all people's defense and social self-protection.

The talks concerned the most important questions of the current socioeconomic situation and development problems in the SFRY and the SR of Croatia. Within this framework, the participants also discussed regular activities connected with the tasks of all people's defense, which are the responsibility of the Yugoslav People's Army, organs, and sociopolitical organizations. In this context, particular stress was placed on the significance of a developed practice of cooperation, which is also confirmed by today's talks. In this way, as it was stressed, steady and direct review of all the assumptions essential for the participation of all available forces and assets in strengthening the country's defense capability and a further development of a common system of all people's defense and social self-protection of the SFRY is being carried out.

During his stay in Zagreb, the federal secretary was informed about the significant results achieved in strengthening combat readiness and moral and political unity of the commands, units, and institutions of this Army district by Colonel-General Martin Spegelj, commandant of the Zagreb Army District. In the command of the Zagreb Army District, the federal secretary also held talks with the most responsible officers holding command and political positions of the Zagreb Garrison about the key tasks of the units and commands in the next period. He also visited the Marshal Tito and People's Hero Dusan Corkovic barracks, where he attended a session of soldiers regular training.

In these barracks, Colonel-General Veljko Kadijevic toured modern technical workshops, Army supply service sections, and other buildings where soldiers and officers live and work.

During his stay in Zagreb, the federal defense secretary also visited Rade Koncar composite organization of associated labor, where he was acquainted with production results and programs.

Ljubljana Television Seen as 'Conservative'

AU1407171988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jul 88 p 3

[S. Gajevic report: "Criticism of Ljubljana Television"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Jul—Pluralism was the word most often mentioned at today's meeting of the Presidium of the Slovenian Republican SAWP Conference which discussed the work and development of Ljubljana Radio-Television. Alongside fundamentally positive appraisals of the work of Ljubljana Television, there was much criticism at its expense, including complaints that reception is poor or nonexistent in some parts of Slovenia, and above all the view that Ljubljana Television is a monopoly and does not permit the development of different kinds of television.

Ljubljana Television was reproached today for reporting events relating to the detainment of the group of three later than other media, especially the radio, and it was said that the way it broadcast the statement of Professor Ljube Bavcon and the cultural rally had the opposite effect. Comments were made at the expense of Ljubljana Television because of its opposition to alternative television, whose introduction was proposed two years ago by the video section of the students' cultural center here. The television was criticized for not marking veterans' day yesterday, and for not including programs for believers in its schedule.

In a statement, Stane Grah, director of Ljubljana Television and chief television editor, rejected the claim that Ljubljana Television is conservative and outmoded, and always enforces censorship. Grah said about 70 items on the Jansa incident have been carried since 1 June. Regarding the commemoration of veterans' day, Grah reminded those present that Ljubljana Television had broadcast the final part of the opening ceremony on this occasion, had broadcast a film about the National Liberation War, and had made special efforts to prepare a good schedule for that day.

Joze Smole, president of the Slovenian Republican SAWP Conference, said that there is no foundation for blanket accusations against Ljubljana Television. As for pluralism in television, Smole said that we must be against political pluralism when it opposes the foundations of our society, spreads anticommunism, or attacks the Yugoslav People's Army.

Since there were many speeches at the meeting on the need for more pluralism in the programs of Ljubljana Television, Joze Smole proposed (and the presidium accepted) that a special meeting should be held to thoroughly discuss what is meant in Slovenia by political and ideological pluralism. This is necessary because much misunderstanding is being reported throughout Yugoslavia on this topic.

Since the view that military authorities are deaf to the demands of the civilian population has already been heard, the presidium concluded that its Executive Council should assess how to enact the conclusions of the Slovenian Republican SAWP Conference Presidium on this incident.

Presidium members today discussed the situation in the DELAVSKI ENOTNOST Basic Organization of Associated Labor within DELO which, it was said, has incurred losses of between 6 and 7 billion dinars.

Macedonian Officials Sworn In

LD1307205488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Skopje, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Today in the assembly of the SR of Macedonia, before Vulnet Stavrova, president of the assembly, the following officials were formally sworn in: Milco Balevski, newly elected secretary of relations with foreign countries; Ivan Mitrovski, republican secretary of general economic affairs, small businesses, tourism, and the market; Andrej Tokarev, president of the republican committee for urban planning, construction, transportation, and environmental protection; Tito Belicanec, president of the republican committee for labor, health, and social policy; Dr Savo Klimovski, president of the republican committee for education, culture, and physical culture; Dimitar Ancev, member of the Macedonian Executive Council and president of the republican committee for industry and energy; and their deputies: Boris Calovski, Ilijaz Sabriu, Ratko Cadikovski, Risto Andreev, Dr Ljupco Karovski, and Cvetan Stanoevski. Formal statements were also signed by Milan Sikovski, newly elected secretary of the republican assembly, his deputy Zivko Todorovski, and Momcilo Apostolov, adviser in the assembly of the SR of Macedonia.

Their election was part of the rationalization of the republican administration organs and the Macedonian Executive Council. With this new organization, there are only 6 republican committees and secretariats instead of 18.

Congratulating them on their election, Vulnet Stavrova, president of the assembly of the SR of Macedonia, stressed that the complex juncture we are at obliges them to carry out their duties and tasks efficiently and promptly, as well as to make efforts to justify trust put in them by the delegates of the republican assembly.